A COMPARATIVE STUDY
OF
ALL SANSKRIT GRAMMARS
(With Special reference to Krtya Suffixes)

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APPENDIX : FORM 'A'

Certified that the work incorporated in the thesis, " A Comparative study of all Sanskrit grammars (with special reference to kṛtya suffixes)" submitted by Shri Pradipta Kumar Das, was carried out by the candidate under my supervision. Such material as has been obtained from other sources has been duly acknowledged in the thesis.

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_C_O_N_T_E_N_T_S_

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ABBREVIATIONS

A -	Anubhūti Svarupācārya.
ABORI	Annals of Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.
AG	Altindische Grammatik.
Ai.B	Aitareya Brāhmaṇa.
Ast	Aṣṭādhyāyī.
BD	Bhaṭṭojī Dīkṣit.
BDCRI	Bulletin of Deccan College Research Institute.
Bh.	Bhojadeva.
C	Candragomin
CASS-st.	Centre of Advanced Study in Sanskrit Studies.
CV	Cāndra Vyākaraṇa.
Ch. UP.	Chāndogya Upaniṣad
D	Devanandī.
H	Hemcandra
HS	Śrī-siddhahemacandrānuśāsana.
J	Jumaranandī.
JMSUB	Journal of Mahārājā Sāyājirao University of Baroda.
Jmu	Jumara Vyākaraṇa Saraṇī.
Ju.B	Jaiminīya Upaniṣad Brāhmaṇa.
JUP	Journal of the University of Poona.
JV	Jainendra Vyākaraṇa.

KS	Kāṇva Saṁhitā.
KV	Kātantra Vyākaraṇa.
LŚS	Lāṭyāyana Śrauta Sūtra.
MBH	Mahābhāṣya.
MS	Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā.
M.Up.	Māṇḍukya upaniṣad.
MV	Mugdhavodha Vyākaraṇa.
N	Nirukta
NŚ	Nāradīyaśikṣā.
P	Pāṇini
Ptj.	Patañjali.
RV	Ṛgveda.
Ś	Śākṭāyana
ŚB	Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa.
ŚV	Śākaṭāyana Vyākaraṇa.
S	Sarvavarman
SK	Sarasvatī Kaṇṭhābharaṇa.
Skau	Siddhānta Kaumudī.
SV	Sārasvata Vyākaraṇa.
TS	Taittirīya Saṁhitā.
V	Vopadeva.
VIJ	Viśveśvarānanda Indological Journal.

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INTRODUCTION

HISTORY OF THE LINGUISTIC STUDIES IN ANCIENT INDIA

0.1 One of the most essential and chief characteristics of the homo sapiens i.e. the human beings besides other features, is speech. Man differs from beasts in that he can move his tongue, the lips and use his teeth and nose to produce different sounds,which can form words. It is this characteristic of speech that man has supremacy over the other non-human beings. According to Indian mythology in ancient times when Brahmā created the world he distributed the speech equally amongst all the creatures in those times even the non-human creatures like beasts, birds, the creeping creatures like serpents etc. also could speakout a speech like that of human-beings. Bāṇabhaṭṭa in the introductory portion of his Kādambarī refers to this legend in the words by the minister Kumārapālita " anyadeteṣāmapi purā puruṣāṇā-mivātiparisphuṭābhidhānā vāgāsīt. agniśāpāttvaparisphuṭā-lāpatā śukānamupajātā kariṇām ca jihvāparivarttitaḥ"[1]

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1. Kale M.R.(Ed.) Bāṇa's kādambarī, p.28. Motilal Banarassi Dass, Fourth Revised Edition, 1968.

Not only this but lord Śiva in the work called Aumāpatam which is the book on musicology says that the whole creation is nothing but the manifestation of sounds.[2] Bhartṛhari, in his monumental and famous work called Vākyapadīya echoes the same thought in the very first śloka of the work. He says that the whole universe is nothing but the vivarta (manifestation without a fundamental change) of sounds.[3] Likewise Bhavabhūti, in his famous work Uttararāmacarita says through Ātreyī, that Rāmāyaṇa is nothing but the manifestation of sound principles.[4] All this only goes to show that the speech or vāk is as important as Brahman itself and is the highest divine gift given by god to human beings. The ancient Indians hold this

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2. Vāsudeva Śāstrī , K, (Ed.) Aumāpatam, p.I , Madras Government oriental series, 1957.
   Cf. yatra nādasya sambhutistatra tālo vijrmbhate
   nādātmakamidam devī sarvam tālamayamjagat

3. Pillai K, Rāghavan, (Ed.) vākyapadīya, P.I, Motilal Banarassi Dass, Ist.Edn.1971.
   Cf. anādinidhanam brahma
   śabdatattva yadakṣaram,
   vivartate'rthabhāvena prakriyā jagato yataḥ

4. Bhat G.K.(Ed.) Bhavabhuti's Uttararāmacarita, Act.II p.56, 1965.
   Cf." atha sa bhagavān prācetasaḥ prathamam manuṣyeṣu śabdabrahmaṇastādṛśam vivartam itihāsam rāmāyaṇam praninyāyaḥ ".

speech in so high and esteem that they could not afford their achievements in the field of speech. This achievements in the field of speech has come down to us in the form of vedas. Sāyaṇa, in the introductory portion of his commentary to Ṛgveda Bhāṣya also states that the vedas are nothing but the breath of Brahman . Also the vedas created the world.[5] All the references go to show the important of speech given to human beings by God. It is because of this reason that the heritage in the form of speech viz. vedas are handed very meticulously by oral tradition through thousands of generations. The speech was held in high esteems by ancient Indians. Nirukta narrates a story in which the vāk went to brahmins and requests them to take her care because she was the most sacred reservoir of knowledge.[6] The brahmin also preserved the speech in the form of the vedas with the greatest care without a single

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5. Roy K.R. Introduction to sāyaṇa's Ṛg-Bhāṣya, p.28, 1961.

   Cf. yasya niśvasitam vedā yo vedebhyokhilam jagat nirmame tamaham vande vidyātīrthamaheśvaram.

6. Jha Bakși Mukunda, (Ed.) Nirukta, p.68, 1930.

   Cf. vidyā havai brāhmaṇam ājagāma, gopāya mām, śevadhiṣṭe'hamasmi.

variation in recitation. This being the case language always attracted the thoughts of philosophers and linguists who study and analyse the language but it had already become a subject of study and analysis in as ancient times as of the vedas.

0.2 If we study carefully or even read the vedic literature carefully, we find that many of the vedic compounds are solved by the vedas themselves. This was done obviously because of conveying the correct meaning of the word. The following examples from Rg veda will make the point clear.

1. The compound word vajrabhṛt occurs twice in RV as sa vajrabhṛd dasyuhā bhīma ugraḥ (I.100.12) and yo gotrabhid vajrabhṛd yo haristhā (6.17.2).[7] The word vajrabhṛd refers to Indra and its meaning is "who holds vajra". In so many places in RV, the compound vajrabhṛt is explained, as

vajraṁ bharati, RV.2.16.2, 4.16.7.
vajraṁ abhivṛtam RV.3.44.5.
vibhrad vajraṁ vāhvā RV.6.23.3.
vajraṁ vibharti RV 8.29.4.

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7. Sātavalekar S.D.(Ed.) Ṛgvedasaṁhitā P.70, p.347 Svādhyāyamaṇḍala , Pāradi, Third Edn. 1957.

2. aṁhomuc - This word aṁhomuc occurs only once in RV at 10.63.9 as

" bhareṣvindraṁ suhavaṁ
havāmahem'homucaṁ sakṛtaṁ daivaṁ janaṁ ".[8]
(RV.10.63.9)

This compound aṁhomuc is dissoved at the following places.

i) saḥ pūṣannedhvanastira vyaṁho vimuconapāt - (RV.1.42.1)

ii) ṛṣiṁ narāvaṁhasaḥ pañcajanya mṛvīsādatriṁ
muñcathoganena (RV.1.117.3)

iii) amuñcataṁ vārtikāmaṁhaso ṇiḥ (RV.1.118.8)

3. acyutacyut - This word occours twice in RV
as yo viśvasya pratimānaṁ babhūva
yo acyutacyut sa janāsaḥ indraḥ (RV. 2.12.9)
and hannacyutacyud dasmeṣayanta -
mṛṇoḥ puro vidūro asya viśvāḥ (RV.6.18.5)[9]

The word acyutacyut is also used in the context of Indra. This compound word dissolved at the following places.

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8. Ibid,p.679.

9. Sātavalekar S.D., Op.cit. p.158, p.349.

i) prācyāvayanto acyutācidojasā (RV.1.85.4)

ii) uta cyavante acyutā dhruvāṇi (RV.1.167.8)

iii) yenemā viśvā cyavanā kṛtāni (RV.2.12.4)

From the above illustrated examples its very well enquired that in veda itself there was the linguistic activity by the vedic seers. When they were composing the various mantras, unknowingly and the most suprisingly they could analyse the vedic forms linguistically. Dr. M.D.Pandit, in some of his research papers collected such words and gives their linguistic analysis from veda itself.[10]

0.3 The same linguistic analysis is also found in Brāhmaṇa literature. In course of discussion the Brāhmaṇa texts themselves have given the analysis of many a words from which some are quoted below as the examples.

i) tanunapāt (Ai.B. 2.4.5) is explained as tanvaḥ napāt

ii) The word yajña is analysed by ŚB as yan jāyate (ŚB 3.9.4.23).

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10. Pandit M.D., a) " A concordance of vedic compounds interpreted by veda", CASS-Studies No.3 pp.179-206, 1976.

b) " A concordance of vedic compounds interpreted by veda. Part II, CASS-Studies No.5,pp.17-31,1980.

c) " A concordance of vedic compounds interpreted by veda- A case for ABORI ,pp.219-224,1979.

iii) The word svapna is also analysed by ŚB as svā apiyanti (ŚB 10.5.2.14).

iv) akṣara - This word is linguistically analysed by both ŚB and J.U.B. as follows

a) tad yad akṣarat tasmād akṣaram (ŚB.6.1.3.6)

b) yad akṣarat eva tasmād akṣaram (JU.B. 1.7.2.1)

Dr. S.N.Bhavasar, in his Ph.D. thesis Etymology in the Brāhmaṇas has given the etymology of a lot of words from the Brāhmaṇa literature.[11]

In upaniṣada also we come accross a lot of words side by side their linguistic analysis in the very upaniṣadic literature.

In upaniṣad oṁ is a letter which has a deep philosophical meaning. The same oṁ is linguistically analysed in Māṇḍukya upaniṣad as " so'yamātmā' dhyakṣaramoṅkāraṁ adhimātraṁ pādā mātrā mātrāścapādā akāra okāra makāra iti " (M.Up. 8).

0.4. In the days of padapāṭha, the linguistic analysis was carried on. The above statement will be more clear from an example.

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11. For detail discussion cf. Bhavasar S.N., Etymology in the Brāhmaṇas, unpublished doctoral dissertation submitted to the University of Poona, 1969.

agniḥ pūrvebhirṛṣibhīrīḍyo nūtanairuta
sa devān eha vakṣati (RV.1.1.2)

The padapāṭha of the above mantra will be

agniḥ pūrvebhiḥ , ṛṣi'bhiḥ,īḍyaḥ ,
nūtanaiḥ, uta, saḥ, devāṅ ā, iha, vakṣati

From the above illustration it is clear that by the padapāṭha, the morpheme of sanskrit and or vedic morphemes were fixed. In this period the morphological analysis was carried on.[12]

The prātiśākhyas deal with the phonetics of Sanskrit language. It also contains the rules of saṁdhi. There are many examples given in the prātiśakhya texts, which can be cited for the example.

1) samānakṣare sasthāne dīrghamekamubhe svaram -
In the vṛtti, it is said that when two homogenious letters follow having the same place (samāna sthāna) one dīrgha varṇa is substituted for these two letters. Cf. the vṛtti," samāna sthāne ; dīrgha-mekamubhe api svaram āpadyate, aśvajani prācetasaḥ (RV.6.75.13).

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12. For detail discussion Cf. Jhā V.N., A Linguistic analysis of the Ṛgvedapadapāṭha, unpublished doctoral dissertation submitted to the University of Poona, 1974.

2) ikārādaya ekāramakāraḥ sodayaḥ The meaning is, if a kāra comes before short a or long ī it become e. (both a and i are mixed and become e) cf. the vṛtti, " ikāraparaḥ akāraḥ ekāram āpadyate. sodayaḥ = saha pareṇa ekāreṇa endra sānasiṁ rayiṁ, (Rv. 1.8.1) , emenaṁ śṛjatā sute". (RV. 1.9.2).

3) tathā ukārodaya okāram. The meaning is if akāra comes before short or long u, it becomes o. (both a and u mixed and they become o). Cf. the vṛtti "yathekārodayokāraḥ sodaya ekameva varṇamāpadyate; (tathā = evaṁ, avarṇa, ukārodaya ekāram āpadyate. etāyāmopa gavyanta indram" (RV.1.33.1)[13]

0.5. Not only this, even the different śikṣā literature like prātiśākhya have also carried down the linguistic analysis. Mainly in these texts the phonetics of sanskrit language is discussed. It also discusses the saṁdhi of the language. So many examples are given in Nāradīya śikṣā and paninīya śikṣā . As for example.

i) nakāraḥ svarasaṁyukta ścaturyukto vidhīyate, refo raṅgaśca lopāścānusvām'pi vā kvacit (NŚ 2.4.7)

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13. For these three examples quoted above cf. Varmā V.K., Ṛgveda prātiśākhyam pp.140-142 Ist.Edn. 1970.

The above verse means that, " the n sound compounded with vowel is rendered four-fold r sounds, nasalisation, disappearance, or at places a nasalised sound."

ii) svarabhaktistu dvividhā rkāro refa eva ca,
svoradā vyañjanodāca vihitākṣaracintakaiḥ (NŚ 2.6.7)

The meaning "those who give thought to (the behaviour of) sounds have laid down the two-told svarabhakti : svaradā and vyañjanodā (arising out of ṛ-sound and r-sound).

iii) śaṣaseṣu svarodāyāṁ hakāre vyañjanodayāṁ ,
śaṣaseṣu vivṛttāṁ tu hakāre saṁvṛtāṁ viduḥ
(NŚ.2.6.8)

The meaning of the verse is "when one has ś, ṣ, s there is svarodā, when there is h - sound it is vyañjanodā. When there are ś, ṣ, s it is vivṛtta, when there is h-sound it is known to be saṁvṛtta.[14]

These above examples from NŚ very well prove how the linguistic activities were carried on in the śikṣā literature.

0.6. Yāska's Nirukta is famous for etymology. It deals with morphology of Sanskrit language through the derivations.

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14. For these three examples cf. Bhise U.R. (Ed.) Nāradīya śikṣā, pp.60-127, Bhandārkar Publication, 1986.

Dr. Siddhesvar Verma says, " It has been shown that Yāska was a remarkable etymologist, for in advance of his times. An attempt has been made to deduce the phonetic laws which were the foundation of his etymologies". Again he says Yāska's etymologies had a sound scientific basis. He has evinced a considerable grasp of phonological principles which formed the background of the vedic language".[15] Yāska has given 38 etymologies which are phonologically sound, but semantically not accepted. Dr. Verma, has given so many examples of phonological and morphological characteristics of the etymologies. According to him (i) "Ignorance of the origin of cerebrals has led to crude etymologies. Thus danda (ndo dadaterdhārayati karmaṇaḥ damanādityaupamanayavaḥ N.//2). "punishment" has been derived from √dad or √dam, while, actually, the Indo-European prototype is del + - ndo - "to split", lat dolo 'I cut' referring to the preparation of a stick by cutting wood".

ii) "Ignorance of the fact that old-Indo-Aryan r often went back to an original Indo-European l, many misleading etymologies were offered. e.g. aruṇa (ṇa ārocanaḥ N.V.21) 'red', has been traced to ā + √ruc, lit " that which shines ". "The actual Indo-European prototype was elu-

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15. For detail discussion cf. Varmā S, The etymologies of Yaska, pp.XI-XIII (Introduction portion), Vishveshvarānanda Institute Publication, 1953.

"Yellow" For morphological characteristics he also has given some examples as "kalaśa (saḥ kasmāt, kalā asmiñccherete mātrā N.XI.12) " ajar " is traced to kalā + √śi , lit, ' that in which measured elements lie". Here the suffix - Śa corresponding to the Lat. suffix KS in the parallel word Calix "cup", Indo - Eur, qei "cup", has been represented as a form of √śī.

If a suitable verb for the origin of a noun was not available, the nearest verb just formally resembling the noun only partly was set up as being the origin, thus leading to many phonological in accuracies and laxities e.g. kṣīra (° ra kṣarateḥ, N.11.5) "milk" is traced to √kṣar "to follow". Yāska did not mind if the vowels of these words did not agree".[16]

0.7. In Nighaṇṭu also we have seen the linguistic analysis. It deals with the morphology and semantic study of some of the vedic words whose etymology is given by Yāska in Nirukta. It gives the synonym of the vedic words. As for example The meaning of gau is given as ḡauḥ gmā, jmā, kṣmā, kṣā, kṣemā, kṣoni, kṣitiḥ , avanīḥ , urvī, pṛthvī, mahī, ripaḥ, aditiḥ, ilā, nirtiḥ, bhūḥ , bhūmī, puṣā, gātu, gotreti pṛthivyāḥ , (gotretyekaviṁśatiḥ pṛthivīnāmadheyāni).[17]

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16. Ibid,pp.20-23.

17. Sarup L, The Nighaṇṭu and the Nirukta, p.1,Motilal Banarassi Dass, Second Reprint, 1917.

These are the twenty one names which mean pṛthivī. So these are nothing but the morphological study of the word. There are so many words collected in Nighaṇṭu with their different synonyms.

Thus, we find that the ancient Indians were quite aware of the necessity of pursuing linguistic studies. Not only this but they made their own contribution in the fields of phonetics, phonology, morphology, accent and semantics. But still, we do not find of any activity which can be termed as purely grammatical. The grammatical activity starts only at the end of the vedic period.

1.1 Before P, we find the list which consists of the names of sixteen grammarians[18] who are not quoted by P in his Aṣṭ., But quoted in some other ancient treatises and whose status of being exponents of separate grammatical schools is beyond doubt. To name them, they are Śiva, Bṛhaspati, Indra, Vāyu, Bharadvāja, Bhāguri, Pauskarasādi, Cārāyaṇa, Kāśakṛtsna, Śāntanu, Vaiāgharapadya, Mādhyandini, Raudhi, Śaunaki, Gautama and Vyāḍi.

Not only this P, himself has also referred to the names of ten predecossors[19] in his Aṣṭ. They are as follows:

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18. For detail see, Mimāṁsaka, Yudhisthira, Saṁskṛta vyākaraṇa kā itihāsa, vol. I, pp.73-133, 1972.

19. For detail see, ibid- pp.134-177.

The grammerians	The sūtras in which they occour
1. āpiśali	1. vā supyāpiśaleḥ P.6.1.92
2. kāśyapa	1. tṛṣi mṛṣi kṛṣeḥ kāśyapasya P.1.2.25
	2. nodātte svaritodayamagārgya kāśyapagālavānām. P.8.4.67.
3. Gārgya	1. aḍ gārgyagālavayoḥ P.7.3.99
	2. oto gārgyasya P.8.3.20 and 18.4.67
4. Gālava	1. iko hrasvo'nyo gālavasya -P.6.3.61
	2. tṛtiyādiṣu bhāṣitapumskam pumvadgālavasya P.7.3.99 and P.8.4.67
5. Cākravarman	1. i cākravarmaṇasya P.6.1.130
6. Bharadvāja	1. ṛto bhāradvājasya P.7.2.63
7. Śākaṭāyana	1. laṅaḥ śākaṭāyanasyaiva P.3.4.111
	2. vyorlaghuprayatnataraḥ śākaṭāyanasya P.8.3.18
	3. triprabhṛtiṣu śākaṭāyanasya P.8.4.50
8. Śākalya	1. sambudhau śākalyasyetāvanārṣe P.1.1.16
	2. iko'savarṇe śākalyasya hrasvaśca P.6.1.127.
	3. ṭoṭaḥ śākalyasya P.8.3.19
9. Senaka	1. gireśca senakasya P.5.4.112.
10. Sphoṭāyana	1. avaṅ sphoṭāyanasya P.6.1.123.

Unfortunately, these works of the pre-paninian grammarians have not come down to us. Moreover these are not available in full form but only some portions of them can be traced from the quotations of the ancient authors. So in this regard we are handicapped due to scanty source to have a clear idea of the pre-paninian grammatical thought. There may be many reasons for their disappearance. May be that they were completed but were destroyed in the course of time or may be that their study was abandoned.

1.2 At the end of this whole line of ancient Indian grammarians comes the greatest grammarian of all times viz. Ācārya Pāṇini who surpassed all his predecessors in the matter of exsustiveness, technicalities, brevity, exactness and sound principles of linguistic description. P employed such technique as cover maximum number of cases with minimum number of rules. Not that the pre-paninian grammarians did not attempt at exsustiveness but they seemed to have failed to evolve a grammatical and scientific system which would generalize and cover maximum cases with minimum number of statements. It is interesting to recall in this regard the story of Indra and Bṛhaspati given by Ptj. in his MBH. There Indra is trying to collect all the words of

language so that no word should be left unexplained. For this matter Brhaspati advised Indra to collect the words of the language. The poor Indra abiding by the advice of his guru Brhaspati went on the campaign of the collection of words, for a hundred divine years. Even then Indra could not collect all the words of Sanskrit language. Apart from the fact that the above story indicates the vast expans of the linguistic of vocabulary of the Sanskrit language in those times over thousands of miles of teritory, the story brings forth the total absence of any methodology of the linguistic description on the part of Brhaspati. May be that Indra's attempt are of the primary pioneering nature, which is accepted even by Ptj. when he states - "upalabdho yatnah kriyatam" (one should try to make available as many words as possible). But this indicates that P, evolves a technique of linguistic description which his predecessors could not do. It is the feature of P's grammar which made him surpass all the grammarians before his time so much so that their works were all thrown in the background when P came on the stage.

The popularity of P's grammar is discernible in other field also. What P did was that he concentrated on the sacred vedic language but try to describe the spoken Sanskrit in his times. Of course as Dr. S.S.Bhawe

says, "This is an irrefutable indication of the fact that Pāṇ's grammar describes an accented langugge and most obviously the vedic dialect is included in it. This should remove any possible doubt regarding Pāṇini's applicability to the problem of interpreting the vedic language".[20] P however, has covered the vedic language and accent also to a great extent. Yet to say that , P wrote the grammar of the vedic language is halfly truth. His main aim was to describe the non-vedic Sanskrit.

These two characteristics of P's grammar viz. scientific methodology and linguistic technique and the adescription of non-vedic spoken Sanskrit contribted to his grammar being accepted by all as the most comprehensive and perfect one.

1.3 After P, also the Indian mind did not remain aloof from the grammatical speculations. A good number of grammatical schools began to flourish after P in different time and places, with the aim of developing the system by making it more simple scientific, systematic and popular. The following are the grammarians[21] who

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20. Bhawe S.S., The soma hymns of the Rgveda Part-III p.104, M.S.University Baroda, Research Series-6, Oriental Institute, Baroda, Ist.Edn, 1962.

21. For the detail discussion, cf. Belvalkar S.K., Systems of Sanskrit grammar, pp.41-95, Bharatiya Vidya Prakashan, Second revised Edn. 1976.

have made sincer efforts to establish a school of their own more or less agreeing with P.

Grammarians	Grammars	approximate period
Sarvavarman	Kātantra vyākaraṇa	(50 - 150 B.C.)
Candra	Cāndra vyākaraṇa	(400 - 500 A.D.)
Devaṇandi	Jainendra vyākaraṇa	(400 - 500 A.D.)
Śākaṭāyana	Śākaṭāyana vyākaraṇa	(800 - 900 A.D.)
Bhojadeva	Sarasvatī kaṇṭhābharaṇa	(1000-1050 A.D.)
Hemacandra	Śrī siddha Hemacandrānuśasana	(1050-1100 A.D.
Anubhūtisvarūpā -cārya	Sārasvata vyākaraṇa	(1200-1250 A.D.)
Vopadeva	Mugdhavodha vyākaraṇa	(1200-1250 A.D.)
Jumaranandī	Jaumara vyākaraṇa	(1200-1250 A.D.)
Padmanābhadatta	Saupadma vyākaraṇa	(1300-1350 A.D.)

The whole above discussion raises a problem regarding Śākaṭāyana. We find the name of two Śakaṭāyanas, one is pre-paninian and other is post-paninian. The date of post-paninian is fixed and already mentioned above. But the date of pre-paninian Śākaṭāyana is not available. But from the references by P to Śākaṭāyana, we have to assume two Śakatāyanas, who are separated by a wide timegap.

2.1 The Scope of the present work :

The present thesis aims at a comparative study of all the eleven grammars listed above. There are many

points of view from which such comparative study can be made with. For instance, one can study these grammars from the point of view of changes in the formations, if any, in historical perspective and trace such change from the oldest work to the recent one. Although some grammarians are contemporary still then these differ among one anothers, here the cause of difference is not because of the historical reasons but due to the geographical and dialectical differences. Thus, both the historical and geographical points of view can be taken as a comparative study of these grammars.

The wording and the order of the words in the sūtras is not same in the all the grammars. So the difference in wording and its order also gives us the scope for a comparative study. The style of presentation of the various grammarians can be taken for comparative study. The change in the syntax of the rules can also be studied comparatively. The change in the sūtras, studied geographically and / or historically will give us an idea of the principles of the sūtra system, in different times and places. The cultural and historical data thus collected from all the grammars can be taken as a comparative study. The grammarians have used different type of techniques and technical terms in their respective grammars. The different type of techniques can be taken for the comparative study.

Some grammarians like D, Ś and H belongs to Jainism and C to Buddhism. It is natural that such grammars might be have been written out of pride for their religions. So their works some how differ from other works. These differences can be taken as a comparative study. The individual techniques - both linguistic and extra-linguistic employed by the authors in describing the language, such as the lopa, āgama, nipātana, it-saṁjñā etc. and their historical evolution through the ages can also provide a very interesting field for the comparative study.

2.2 The present thesis aims of comparing the various sūtras of the kṛtya suffixes from all the grammars listed above, from the point of view of principles of grammatical and linguistic analysis and description. An attempt would be made to find out whether these grammars are distinguished from one another and are regarded as representing different schools of grammatical thought only because of the tradition and the difference in the authorship, or whether this is so done on account of the difference in their basic approaches and their grammatical and technical principles of description.

The main purpose of comparing the grammatical and technical principles of these grammars is to find out whether this long stream of grammatical activity in India, spreading over a period of more than two thousand years and

thus creating a unique and unparalleled record in the field, has followed the same course with the same principle throughout all these years without any basic change in the foundamentals or whether it displays at same stage major diversions from the basic principles of grammatical description accepted or followed by P. In other words, it is to findout, whether the general stock of grammatical principles as available at the end of this long journey has remained mostly unchanged throughout from the begining to the end or whether it reveals some broad and major improvements upon the initial principles as enunciated by P.

2.3 Due to the large number of the sūtras in the eleven grammars, it is not possible in this work to study and compare all these grammars in their entirety. So only the kṛtya suffixes are selected for the comparative study. The kṛtya suffixes are the sub-part of the whole kṛdanta portion of Aṣṭ., consisting of the suffixes like tavya, tavyaT, yaT, kyaP and ṆyaT. And latter on another suffix is added to the above list by the vārtikakāra Kātyāyana i.e. kelimaR, which is equal to tavya, for the semantic point of view. This suffix is also mentioned by the post-paninian grammarians in their respective grammars. There are two main reasons for selecting the kṛtya suffixes for the present comparative study.

2.4 From the point of view of syntax of words in Sanskrit language, the kṛtya suffixes can be substituted for verbal forms, even though they are what is technically called as the prātipadikas and are declined as nouns by applying what are called the sup- terminations. One can say conveniently rāmeṇa grāmaḥ gantavyam instead of rāmeṇa grāmaḥ gamyate. Equally also both rāmeṇa gantavyam and rāmasya gantavyam can be used by using the kṛtya suffixes in the form gantavyam. The tendency of using the forms derived out of the kṛtya suffixes are seen in all the Sanskrit works of all the periods. So the importance of the kṛtya formations for the valuation and comparison of the styles of author is, therefore, quite obvious.

Secondly, the kṛtya suffixes function both as noun as well as verb. On the syntactical plane, therefore, the kṛtya suffixes are on par with the conjugated verbal forms . From another point of view, the kṛtya suffixes lie on the border-line between the nouns on the one hand and the verbs on the other; because from the point of view of declension, it gets the nominal sup-terminations, yet from the point of view of function, it acts as a verb. We can, therefore, neither group them under the category of nouns or prātipadikas exclusively nor under

that of the verbal forms or the tiṅantas. Being the pioneer of formal grammar, P, however, has solved the difficulty by the criterian of the nominal declensional terminations applied to them, and grouped them under the category of nouns or prātipadika. Cf. his sūtra, kṛttaddhitasamāsāśca, P.1.2.46.

From the point of view of the grammatical description also, the kṛtya suffixes have been regarded by the grammarians as a very important category. As we shall presently see, all the forms derived out of kṛtya suffixes display a two-term structure invariably. They are composed of only two-terms or morphemes - the prakṛti which is the verbal root or dhātu and pratyaya which is mainly suffix ya- or its substitutes. The kṛtya formations can, therefore, be said to possess the minimum structure as compared to the greater, three-morpheme structures of verbs which contain the verbal root, the vikaraṇa, and the conjugational terminations.

In this present thesis, ten grammarians are taken into consideration due to the non-availability of the copy of Saupadma vyākaraṇa so it is left out. We have to be content with only ten grammars for the presentation. Fortunately, a rare copy of Jaumara vyākaraṇa is available in the library of Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneswar, Orissa.

The pre-paninian texts are leftout because of non-availability of the texts.While comparing the above mentioned grammars P's Aṣṭ. is taken as the starting point and all others are compared with respect to and against the background of Aṣṭ.

2.5. The present thesis is divided into four chapters.

The chapter I gives a general idea of the kṛtya suffixes. It discusses the history of the each and every kṛtya suffixes. It also analyses every kṛtya suffix and it sounds with their different functions of bringing about various morpho-phonemic and accentual changes. It explains the accent system, and the type-token in the kṛtya suffixes. It also defines the term kṛtya given to the section by P.

In the chapter II, the comparison of the sūtras are given. Each sūtra of each grammar is compared with the corresponding sūtras in P's grammar. After the comparison and observation, the notes are given in the places, where these are required. The remark is given after comparing each sūtra.

The chapter III deals with the nipātana in detail. In the kṛtya section of P and all other grammarians, many a nipātana sūtra have been placed. In this chapter, some of the technical terms like lopa, āgama, ādeśa, nipātana

are discussed in detail with its grammatical importance. Again, these technical terms viz. lopa, āgama and ādeśa are compared with the mathematical terms i.e. the technique of zero, the method of addition, the method of subtraction and the method substitution. The grammatical formation of each and every nipātita, forms formed by the nipātana rules of the kṛtya section are also given. The various definitions of the nipātana are given.

The last chapter discusses the linguistic and grammatical principles in the Aṣṭ. and in all other post-pāṇinian grammars in general and in the kṛtya suffixes in particular. In short this chapter tries to study the relation between the formal and non-formal categories and to examine how far the non-formal categories like meaning, gender etc. in-fluence the formal categories and how this problem is solved by the grammarians.

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CHAPTER-I

• THE KRTYA SUFFIXES-A CRITICAL STUDY •

THE KṚTYA SUFFIXES - A CRITICAL STUDY

0.I The kṛtya pratyayas

In all there are six verbal suffixes which are given the name of kṛtya suffixes by P. They are tavya, tavyaT, anīyaR , yaT, kyaP, ṆyaT. Actually speaking the kṛtya suffixes are three viz. tavya, anīya and ya. But as is well known P has applied the it sounds to these suffixes to bring about the desired grammatical and morpho-phonemic changes in the forms. The vārtikakāra Kātyāyana adds one more kṛtya suffix to the above list of P and the suffix is kelimaR = elima with initial k and the final r being zeroed according to the rule laśakvataddhite P.1.3.8 and halantyam P.1.3.3. respectively. Why P did not include the suffix elima in his own list is not clear. The possible reaeason may be that, either the forms pacelima, bhidelima are post-paninian or stastically speaking the derivatives in elima were so few in the language that the suffix was as good as negligible. The total number of forms in elima as given by BD, Kāśikākāra and others does not go beyond two. But as we known from Aṣṭ in which P has listed even a single form or suffix with singular eccurance (Cf. the form gāthakaḥ by the ṬHakaN suffix, cf the sūtra gasthakan P.3.1.146). It is unlikely that P avoided to list the suffix elima merely on statistical grounds.

0.2 It sounds in kṛtya suffixes

As we know, these suffixes have the following it sounds ṭ in tavyaṬ and yaṬ, r in anīyaR , k and P in kyaP, ṇ and ṭ in ṆyaṬ . It is observed that P has used different it sounds which solve some other grammatical purposes. Here in tavya, tavyaṬ, what we feel is the suffix is tavya. But some forms are available with tavya suffix with different accent marks. So P has used tavyaṬ to solve the problem of different accent marks. We find that in all we have the following five it sounds used by P like ṭ, k, P, r and ṇ . These it sounds perform the following grammatical and morpho-phonemic functions in P's grammar.

1) ṭ as it sounds

This ṭ is it according to the rule halantyam P.1.3.3, as it is at the end of the suffix tavyaṬ, ṆyaṬ and yaṬ. The paninian sūtra ṭit svaritam P.6.1.185 states that a suffix having ṭ as the it sounds gets the svarita or circumflex accent, so we have the accent of vāstavya as vāstavyà, which is a derivative in tavyaṬ, from the root vas, the causual and we have the svarita accent.[22]

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22. For detail discussion cf. Wackernangel, J. Attindische Grammatik Band II.2.P.612. 1954.

It is to be mentioned here that the word formed with the suffix tavya is having the different accent, kartavya formed as kṛ + tavya = kartavya gets the accent as kartávya . In the case of the suffix ṆyaT the accent is svarita as in grāhyà , bhāvyà .[23] In the case of yaT, however, the accent is udātta on the last syllable of the form aryá . The accent should have been svarita as aryà, but the accent shifts according to the sūtra ādyudāttśca P.3.1.3. For example

ni sarvásena iśudhīrásakta samaryo gā
ràjāti yasya vaṣṭì, (Rv. 1.33.3.)

2) P as it letter.

In the case of KyaP however the accent should be on the last syllable of the word for example the root bhu + kyaP = bhu + ya = bhavyá , as in the above case of yaT. But as the suffix is pit that is with P as it sound, the pitva makes it anudātta according to the sūtra anudāttau suppittau P.3.1.4 and the accent is thrown back on the previous vowel bha as bhávya (cf. Rgveda 10.55.2 etc.)

3) k as it letter

kitva does not bring about the guṇa or vṛddhi in the verbal stem according to P's rule kiṅti ca(P.1.1.5).

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23. Ibid.p.793.

The example is form ityа, if at all the guṇa or vṛddhi would have been taken place, i might have changed either in to e or ai, the form might be etya or aityа.

4) r as it letter

The it wound r in anīyaR throws back the accent of the last syllable on the penultimate vowel which is termed as upottama in P. by the sūtra upottam riti P.6.1.214. For example āhavanīya, the accent of the last syllable a is thrown back on the penultimate last syllable ī of nī as āhavanīya Wackernangel has given some other exemples in his AG, whose accent mark is same with above mentioned form āhavanīya e.g. upa-jivanīya, pracāraṇīya etc.[24]

5) ṇ as it letter

Similarly all other it sounds have some special grammatical function. The sound ṇ brings about vṛddhi in the verbal stem according to P's sūtra aconiti vṛddhi P.7.2.115 . As far an example

kṛ + ṆyaT

= kṛ + ya = (ṇ and t become zero)

= kār + ya (the vṛddhi is because of ṇ)

= kārya

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24. Cf. Wackernangel J, Op.cit. pp.208-209

The five it sounds viz. t, k, p, r and n used by P therefore, bring about.

i) Indicate the accent in the case of t, r and p.

ii) Indicates the absence of guṇa or vṛddhi in the stem in the case of K.

iii) The vṛddhi in the stem in the case of n.

0.3 The kṛtya suffixes in pre-vedic period.

As is well known the sanskrit language has a long history which begins with the hypothetical Indo-European language. The Indo-European language got split up in to two branches. One going to the west and giving rise to the Indo-Germanic language and Greek and Latin, and the other going to the East giving rise to Indo-Iranian and latter on to vedic language. It is therefore, intresting to know the Indo-European equivalence of the Sanskrit kṛtya suffixes.

1) anīya (= Paninian anīyaR)

This gerundive in anīya is first recorded in the Atharva veda. It is a short of secondary adjectival derivative from the verbal nouns with the suffix ana. From the point of view of historical development of Sanskrit language , the suffix originally was ana as found in the forms karaṇa, gamana etc. (which is equal to pāninian yu

cf. the rule yuvoranākau P.7.1.1) and latter on was extended with the suffix iya or īya functing in an adjectival sense.[25] The difference between the sanskrit grammarians and historical linguists will be quite clear when the two procedures according to the two points of view are examined. They are given below.

i) The grammatical procedure

√kṛ + the suffix anīya = karaṇīya

i.e. R + anīya = F.

ii) The linguistic procedure

√kṛ + the suffix ana = karaṇa

= karaṇa + īya = karaṇīya

= R + ana = F which is a verbal derivative and then the F + īya gives us a secondary i.e. a taddhita derivative.

So we find according to Sanskrit grammar the deisratives in anīya are kṛdanta i.e. verbal derivatives while according to the historical linguistics the derivatives is anīya are secondary or taddhita derivatives.

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25. cf. a) Burrow, T. The Sanskrit Language, p.370, Faber and Faber, London, 1959.

b) Also cf. Brugmann, K., A comparative grammar of the Indo-Germanic languages, Vol. IV, pp. 606-607, The Chowkhamba Sanskrit series, 1972.

Though, apparently the two views appear to be opposite to each other they are basically the same. The aim of historical linguists is to trace the development of the suffix and not to state a formal procedure to arrive at the forms while the aim of all traditional Sanskrit grammarians is not to trace the development of the suffix but to give a formal procedure to arrive at the form. The conditions between the two points of view therefore totally disappears.

2) tavya / tavyaT

From the point of view of historical linguists tavya is a primary derivative having the function of a future passive participals. Functionally and semantically speaking no definite line of demarkation can be drawn between verbal derivatives functioning as adjective and other types of adjectives. In other words the verbal adjectival derivatives differ from other adjectives only in formal procedure i.e. derivation. Functionally however, they are identical. Historically speaking tavya is an extention of the original suffix tu.[26] Thus we have tu* , tav* , tavya by adding the suffix ya (i.e. ia) with the loss of a or zero grade of tav we have the suffix tva (as in kartva) and tvā as in krtvā.[27]

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26. See the Foot Note No.25.

27. Cf. Brugmann ,K., op.cit. p.606.

To give an example

√ kṛ + tu = kartu

kartu (> kartvo* , with guṇa) > *kartav

* kartav + ya (ia) = kartavya

In another direction kartu + a = kartva

and kṛ + tu + ā = kṛtvā

3) The suffix ya

The suffix is designated by P in three different ways with as many as four it sounds viz. k, ṇ , t and p. These it sounds, as we have noted earlier are meant to bring about different morpho-phonemic and accentual changes.

Looking from the point of view of historical linguistic this suffix ya is a combination of i + a.[28]

So we have kṛ + ya (i + a) = as kṛtya with the addition of tugāgama in between. (Example of kyaP suffix). So also with vṛddhi, kṛ + ya = kārya (Example of ṆyaT)

abhi + vad + ya = abhivadya (Example of kyaP).

and pā + ya = peyam (Example of yaT suffix)

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28. a) ibid, Vol. III, pp.125-126 and Vol.IV, pp.605-606.

b) Also, Cf. Burrow, T. Op.cit. pp.184-185.

0.4. Why the accent System absent in other grammars.

We have already seen the usefulness of it sounds. They have fulfilled so many purposes out of which accent is the chief. The accent is one of the part of the linguistics which plays an important role in language specially in the fixing up the meaning. But unfortuanately we do not see the consideration of accent system, except P. But what are the reasons regarding the absence of the accent system in their grammars.[7] What is our observation is that the post paninian grammarians have followed P in each and every sphere, so why they have not followed P, so far as the accent system is concerned ? For the answer of the above questions following possible reseasons are given.

i) After vedic period, P has written Aṣṭ. The accent is one of the important feature in veda, it is natural because as P's period is followed by vedic period, the accent system might have been prevailed out in the society. So P has to do with accent. On the contrary, the post-paninian grammarians are given no importance to accent, because in their society accent is not used so much, as they are much more latter to the vedic period.

ii) Either the post-paninian grammarians were far removed from the vedic language. Or

iii) Once P has treated the accent they did not find it necessary to deal with the same topic again because there was nothing new in the same fact which P has noted. or

iv) The Sanskrit which was spoken after P and in the days of the post-paninian grammarians itself did not preserve or follow the vedic accent and the post-paninian grammarians therefore, had no occasion to deal with the accent. What the post-paninian grammarians seem to have been concerned with this spoken sanskrit language and not the sanskrit language in general from vedic times onwards.

But the chief reason why the post-paninian grammarians did not deal with accent seems to be the lack of the highly complicated technique in their grammars. P's technique on the other hand is highly complicated. He deals with accent through or with the help of the complicated technique of it saṁjñā . The technique of it saṁjñā is not so highly developed in the non-paninian grammars. In P's grammar a single it sound say k performs more than one functions. k for example. 1) does not bring about the guṇa or vṛddhi in sārvadhātuka and kṛdanta formations. (cf. kiṁti ca P.1.1.5). (2) brings about the vṛddhi in the sphere of taddhita. (Cf. the rule kiti ca P.7.2.118). (3) It brings about the antya udātta in the taddhita formations. (cf. the rule kitaḥ P.6.1.165). The k in the post-paninian

grammars on the other hand does not perform more than one function at a time. P's *it* technique is multi pronged while the *it* technique of other grammarians is uni-pronged. It is because of this complecated nature of the paninian *it* technique that P could deal with accent with the help of the same technique as he employed in other cases in his grammar. The other grammarians however, could not come up to the level of P in the technique of *it saṁjñā*. Even if they have wanted, they could not have been able to describe the accent with the help of their *it* technique. It was in-sufficient. If they wanted to describe the accent they would have had to invent a new technique all together. Their technique of *it saṁjñā* was incompetent to do this. They therefore, simply leftout the treatment of accent from their grammars.

0.5 Why the term *kṛtya*

While describing the Sanskrit language P has used some technical terms like *ṭi*, *ghu*, *ghi*, *sārvadhātuka*, *ārdhadhātuka*, *taddhita*, *niṣṭhā* etc. In *Aṣṭ*., P has used the technical terms which is more than a hundred. K.V.*Abhyankar* also supports this view. According to him, "In Pāṇini's grammar, there are the first two chapters giving and explaining the technical terms whose number

exceeds well-nigh a hundred.[29(a)] K.M.E. Śarmā has mentioned that 84[29(b)] technical terms are used by P in his grammar. When one comes across these technical terms one feels that some terms are meaningful and some terms are purely arbitrary. The technical terms may be divided into five main categories.

1) Those which are purely arbitrary like ṭi, ghu, ghi etc..

2) Those which are meaningful like kartā, (the one who does), karaṇa (that by which something is done), etc, which when derived properly can lead us nearer to the meaning they convey in P's grammar. The term in this category are also carefully defined by P. but we can understand these terms without the definition of P. In other words the meaning of such terms have some relations, though distunt with the technical meaning they heve in grammar.

3) Those which by a little stretch of imagination can lead us to the meaning and their propirety in P's

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29(a). Abhyankar K.V., The Dictionary of Sanskrit grammar, p.375, Gaekward's oriental Series, No.134, Oriental Institute, Baroda, First Edn. 1961.

29(b) Śarmā K. Madheva Krisha, Pāṇini Kātyāyana and Patañjali, pp.15-16, First Edn. Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri Rashtriya Sanskrit Samsthan, Delhi, 1968.

grammar, the terms like tatpuruṣa, bahuvrihi,[30] sārvadhātuka, ārdhadhātuka[31] etc. The term in this category are defined by P, with reference to some other technical terms but these terms do not themselves make any sense, they require a little thought for the manifestation of the meaning. We do not find such terms as enumerated. These terms are not entirely arbitrary and can be explained after a careful thought and logic.

4) The fourth category is that type of technical term which can not be explained in any of the above way. This category includes the term like dhātu, suP, tiṄ etc. The term dhātu is no where accurately and metaculously defined by P. As well as it is not purely arbitrary also like the term ṭi, ghi, ghu etc. Morever, its derivation from √ dhā, also cannot be co-related, which the meaning it conveys in P's grammar. No stretch of imagination can co-relate its meaning

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30. For the different names of samāsa dvanda, tatpuruṣa etc. cf. Pandit, M.D. , 'The sanskrit compounds,' Jñānāmṛtam Dr. A.C.Swain Felicitation volume, pp.77-87, 1985.

31. For the technical terms Sārvadhātaka, ārdhadhātuka etc. cf. Palsule G.B., 'The sanskrit Dhātupāṭha ' Deccan College Publication, Poona, 1961.

with the dhātus like bhū, as etc. in Sanskrit. We are therefore, at a loss to understand the meaning of the term. If we examine P's grammar, we understand that what he means by dhātu is nothing but the linguistic category or morpheme which he has enlisted or enumerated in his dhātupāṭha under the heading of bhūvādayoḥ dhātavaḥ P.1.3.1. This seems to be yet another method of coining technical terms employed by P. in his grammar. This method can be termed as the method of enumeration and defines the technical terms simply by enumeration. Thus we have the terms dhātu,, sup, tiṄ , uṇādi etc., which are meaningful only by the enumeration.

5) Besides, these there is another category of terms which can not be explained on any of the above grounds. These terms do not giveout any meaning etymologically. They are also defined by P. P has simply used these and we cannot arrived at their meaning even after a great deal of thought, these terms are like kṛt, taddhita, kṛtya etc. This term kṛtya being our own subject matter of study looks meaningless in this context and seems to be purely arbitrary like ṭi, ghi, ghu etc. But, still we can find out a method in this madness.

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Let us take an example for the clarification of this type of technical terms. As for example the technical term called taddhita, which is defined in the sūtra taddhitaḥ P.4.1.76. This term can be explained etymologically as a tatpuruṣa compound of tat and hita and can be dissolved as tasya hitam or tasmai hitam. The word tat in the above dissolution of the compound is a pronoun and can stand for any noun. Thus we have vatsāya or vatsayā hitam vatsiyam, goḥ or gave hitam gavyam etc.

The suffix ya applied in this context is a taddhita pratyaya because the explanation of the forms vatsiya, gavya etc. are identical with the explanation of the compound teddhita as tasya or tasmai hitam. What P means by the term taddhita in the heading sūtra : taddhitāḥ P.4.1.76, is that all the suffixes which are given after the sūtra taddhitāḥ P.4.1.76 and all the derivatives which can be explained in the manner in which the technical term taddhita and any other for that matter in that section are to be termed as taddhita forms. Morever, the part tat in the word taddhita indicates the primary element or word and the form which can be derived by applying the given suffixes will be a secondary derivative derived from the primary element. Th-7604

The same argument can well be advanced in the case of our present term kṛtya also, by which the point can be explained more clearly.

If we examine carefully, the sūtras in which such terms are used for the first time and examine the succeeding sūtras, we are in a better position to throw some light on P's technique of coining technical terms. Let us take the example kṛtya itself which is used by P in the sūtra kṛtyāḥ P.3.1.95. This is an adhikāra sūtra extending its domain upto the sūtra cityāgni citye ca P.3.1.132 If we study the sūtra immediately next to P.3.1.95, we find that what P is doing is that, he is explaining the forms which are similar to kṛtya etc. So we have the forms like kṛtya, gamya, namya etc., that is those which get the suffix ya directly from the root, so the technical term kṛtya in the sūtra kṛtyāḥ means that all the pratyayas which are stated after the pratyaya ya in the word kṛtya (from kṛ) are to be termed as kṛtya pratyayas. Thus, all such pratyayas are headed by the sūtra kṛtyāḥ . The word kṛtya is a form from √kṛ with suffix ya which comes under and after the sūtra kṛtyāḥ . Hence all the suffixes are named as kṛtya suffixes, which are in this section from P.3.1.95 to P.3.1.132.

0.6. Types and Tokens in Kṛtya suffixes.

'Types' and 'Tokens' are two terms which are used in Mathematics[32] and in Linguistics also. For example the

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32. For detail discussion cf. Harden Gustav, Type-Token Mathematics, published by Mouton & Co., The Haugue, The Neitherlands, 1960.

suffix kyaP, which comes under the krtya section, in real usage we do not use kyaP but ya. The kyaP is with the it sound k and p and ya which is actually used in the language is devoid of these it sounds. The first category i.e. that without it sounds, is a linguistic entity found in the language while the second category i.e. that which is with it sound is not found in the language but is available only in Pāṇini's grammar and hence a purely technical, hypothetical and non-linguistic category. Technically speaking the real i.e., the linguistic suffix ya is called the TYPE and the various ways viz. kyaP, yaT ṆyaT etc. are called the TOKENs[33] The post-paninian grammarians have retained the same type with different tokens which will be clear from the table mentioned next page.

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33. For the detail discussion of Type and Token cf. Das, P.K., "Type-Token study in Pāṇini (Part-I) Lokaprajñā, Pt. Shrinivasa Shastri Felicitation Vol. I, No.I, pp.108-113, 1987.

Schools of Grammarians.	P	S	C	D	Ś	Bh	H	A	V	J
TYPE	T	O	K	E	N	S				
anīya	anīyaR	anīya	anīyaR	anīya	anīya	anīyaR	anīya	anīya	anīya	anīyaṄ
tavya	tavya	tavya	tavya	tavya	tavya	tavya	tavya	tavya	tavya	tavyaṄ
	tavyaT	x	x	x	x	tavyaT	x	x	x	x
ya	yaT	ya	yaT	ya	ya	yaT	ya	ya	ya	yaṄ
	kyaP	kyaP	kyaP	kyaP	kyaP	kyaP	kyaP	kyaP	kyaP	kya
	ṆyaT	GHyaN	ṆyaT	Nya	GHyaN	ṆyaT	GHyaN	GHyaN	GHyaN	Nya
TOTAL-3	6	5	5	5	5	6	5	5	5	5

Only Bh, the author of SK has followed P in each and every respect so far as the krtya suffixes are concerned. And all other grammarians have totally left the tavyat suffix for which we have seen five Tokens for the three Types. We have seen the difference between the types and tokens. So the question arises in mind why there are the differences in the structure of suffixes when the ultimatum of them is same and identical ? The answer of this question is not so difficult. The variation is because of the variation in the technical plane of the linguistic description. Though in the linguistic we are only concerned with the sounds tavya, anīya, and ya; the sound like k, r, n, p and t etc. belong to purely to the technical plane and without which scientific analysis of the language is not possible. Technically the grammarians named these sounds are its or indicatory ones which elide after performing the functions attributed to them. The purpose of the technical level of language as given by Dr. M.D.Pandit, is that "It is a sort of artificial formal plane for the non-formal categories or phenomena like meaning, accent, guna vrddhi etc. in the formation."[34]

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34. Pandit M.D., 'A Comparative study of all Sanskrit grammars, unpublished doctoral dissertation submitted to the University of Poona. p.18, 1972.

CHAPTER - II

KṚTYA SUFFIXES IN DIFFERENT SANSKRIT GRAMMARS

KṚTYA SUFFIXES IN DIFFERENT SANSKRIT GRAMMARS

The section on kṛtya suffixes forms a sub-part of the general section of kṛt suffixes in P's grammar. Though there are in all six kṛtya suffixes, the number comes down in reality only to three. The suffixes are tavyaT, tavya, anīyaR, yaT, kyaP and ṆyaT. If we closely examine the suffixes, we find that there are mainly only three suffixes viz. tavya, anīya and ya. Besides these six suffixes there is yet another suffix noted by the vārttikakāra and suffix is elima i.e. kelimaR with it sounds k and r. There are in all 37 sūtras i.e. starting from P.3.1.96 to P.3.1.132 in P's grammar which deal with all the kṛtya suffixes mentioned above. Besides the sūtras giving kṛtya suffixes, there are certain sūtras which deal with forms that can be included in the forms ending with kṛtya suffixes. All such forms are given under the title of nipātana.

The comparison of the kṛtya suffixes from all the available Sanskrit grammars has many a aims which gives us an insight to look into the principle of descriptive technique of the Sanskrit grammars.

i) The primary intention behind such study is to show the development of Sanskrit grammar from P

(5th Century B.C.) to J (12th Century A.D.) . It is obvious that during the wide gap of seventeen hundred years, Sanskrit grammar must have gone through some changes.

ii) To study and explain critically, the rules of the available Sanskrit grammars of the kṛtya section and observe critically.

iii) To examine the rules in the light of the recorded facts.

iv) Comparing the rules from Pāṇini to Post-Pāṇinian grammars and to show the differences and the similarities.

The rules of the different grammars are discussed cronologically according to the time of the grammarians. In this comparison the subject matter is critically analysed and observed.

tavyattavyā nīyaraḥ	-	P.3.1.96
tavyānīyau	-	S.4.2.9.
tavyānīyar kelimaraḥ	-	C.1.1.105
tavyā nī yau	-	D.2.1.83
tavyānīyau	-	Ś.4.3.67
tavyattavyānīyaraḥ	-	Bh. 1.3.128
tavyānīyau	-	H.5.1.27
tavyānīyau	-	A
tavyānīyaḍhabhāve	-	V.967.
tavyaṅanīyaṅau	-	J.159

It is the first rule coming under the sub-section kṛtya. This rule gives the application of the three suffixes viz. tavyaT, tavya and anīyaR. The vṛtti of the sūtra is "dhātostavyattavyānīyar ityete pratyayā bhavanti".[35] These suffixes like tavyaT, tavya and anīyaR will be applied after the verbal roots. Cf. the sūtra dhātoḥ P.3.1.91. The corresponding sūtras of other grammars are as follows.

dhātoḥ S.4.2.1.

C does not define the term dhātu , because his grammar is an asaṁjñaka vyākaraṇa (= a grammar without any saṁjñā), the term dhātu is indirectly or implicitly defined in his sūtra, ekāco halādeḥ kriyārthād bhṛśābhikṣṇye yaṅ C.1.1.40, in which the word kriyārtha is identical in connection with the Pāṇinian term dhātu. This word kriyārthād (abl.sg.) is to be understood in the case of applying the kṛtya suffixes also. cf. the commentary on the sūtra tavyānīyar kelimaraḥ C.1.1.105: "tavyādaḥ kriyārthāt pare bhāvāpyayorbahulaṁ bhavanti", which borrows the word kriyārthāt (= verbal root) from the previous sūtra, C.1.1.40, quoted above.

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35. a) Vasu S.C., (Ed.) Aṣṭādhyāyī , vol. I, p.384, Motilal Banarassi Dass, 1980.

b) Sarma A., (Ed.) Kāśikā, part I, p.197, Sanskrit Academy, Osmania University, Hyderabad, Ist Edn, 1969.

dhor yaṅ kriyāsambhihāre D.2.1.19. In this sūtra, the sense of dhoḥ is ablative singular of dhu (= paninian dhātu) is to be enlarged to include the kṛtya suffixes also.

dhātoḥ kaṇḍvādeṛ yak Ś.4.1.6, which starts the anuvṛtti of the word dhātoḥ for all the kṛt suffixes including the present kṛtya suffixes.

dhātor halādereakācaḥ kriyāsamabhihāre yaṅ Bh. 1.3.30, which starts the anuvṛtti of the word dhātoḥ for all the kṛt suffixes including the present kṛtya suffixes.

H follows Ś. Cf. his sūtra , dhātoḥ kaṇḍavādeṛ yak, H.3.4.8, the word dhātoḥ is to be borrowed for all the kṛt suffixes which start from the sūtra H.5.1.1 : ā tumo'tyādiḥ kṛt, which include the present kṛtya suffixes.

dhātoḥ kṛt A.8.1.1, the word kṛt includes the present kṛtya suffixes.

dhoḥ V.528, where dhu = paninian dhātu. V follows D in this respect.

The sūtra dhātoḥ is also found in Jmv.

By the application of these suffixes we get the forms like gantavya, kartavya, karaṇīya etc.

The suffix tavyaT and tavya give the form gantavya, kartavya etc. What we have observed is that the above mentioned suffixes give only the single type of forms. If it is so, then

what is the necessity to mention both of the suffixes separately. Either tavyaT or tavya would have served the above purpose.

But P, the master grammarian, has mentioned these two suffixes separately with the intention behind this. The intention is accent. Though the form with tavya and tavyaT are structurally and phonetically identical, still they are different from the point of viewof the accent. An important fact is to be mentioned is that P, the only grammarian, who has discussed the accent system indetail. None has touched it. Because of this reason only tavya is found in all other post-paninian grammars and for the same reason tavyaT is not available in any of these grammars.

Apart from this, under this sūtra two vārttikas are seen. i) vasestavyat kartari ṇicca (ii) kelimar upasaṁkhyānam.

To give justification to the word vāstavya, the vārttika vasestavyat kartari ṇicca is introduced. Otherwise instead of vāstavya we would have got the word vastavya. The word vāstavya is derived in an active sense as different from the kṛtya formations, which are derived in a passive sense. cf. the sūtra : bhāvakarmaṇoḥ P.1.3.13 and tayorevakṛtyakta - khalarthāḥ P.3.4.70. The corresponding sūtras of the post-paninian grammars as follows :

For both of the sūtra P.1.3.13 and P.3.4.70 quoted above S has given only one sūtra in Kv. The sūtra is bhāvakarmaṇoḥ kṛtyaktakhalarthāḥ S.3.2.40. C has given the

rule bhāvāpyayoḥ C.1.4.47 and bhāvāpyayoḥ C.1.1.104 for the Pāṇinian rule 1.3.13 and 3.4.70 respectively. (Although these two sūtras seem similar, they differ from eachother in vṛtti and in application.) In Jv, D has given two rules i.e. ṇau D.1.2.7 and tayorvyaktakhārthaḥ D.2.4.55, which correspond to P's 1.3.13 and 3.4.70 respectively.

In Śv, Ś has given two rules i.e. karmabhāve Ś.1.4.77 and sāpyā nāpyāllaktaghyapkhārthāḥ karmabhāve Ś.4.3.55, which correspond to P's 1.3.13 and 3.4.70 respectively.

In Śk, Bh has given two rules i.e. ātmanepadāni bhāvakarmaṇoḥ Bh.3.1.42 and bhāvakarmaṇorā ṇyataḥ Bh.1.3.127, which correspond to P's rule 1.3.13 and 3.4.70 respectively.

In Hs, the author has given one rule i.e. tatsāpyānāpyātkarmabhāve kṛtyaktakhalarthāśca H.3.2.21 which corresponds to P's both of the rules.

In Sv, the author has given a single rule i.e. kṛtyādi bhāvakarmaṇoreva (P.450), which corresponds to both of the paninian rules quoted above.

For Paninian kṛtya, V has used the term lya. For the kṛtya, he has mentioned, "prathamapādaḥ lyaḥ . In the vṛtti of the sūtra : te lyāḥ śakyārhya presyānujñā--prāptakāle vā (V.989), the commentator mentions that the suffix tavya, anīya, ya GHYAṆ , ya, kyaP, kelimā

are regarded as lya saṁjñā . Cf. the vṛtti, "te tavya anīya ya ghyaṇ ya kyap kelimā lya saṁjñā syuḥ " (V. 989, MV p.736). From the vṛtti, it is known that the term lya is used for the kṛtya. In this grammar also the author has given the only rule kṛddhoḥ ka bhāve (V.965). Although it does not correspond to the Paninian rule quoted above, still it gives some information about the application of kṛt suffixes in general and the kṛtya suffixes in particular. Again the suffix tavyaṬ when coming after the verb vas in the sense of agent, is treated as if it has an indicatory "ṇ " . The "ṇ" is required for the vṛddhi Cf. the paninian sūtra aco ñṇiti P.7.2.115. and only after that the form vāstavya will be formed.

Kelimar upasaṁkhyānam is the second vārttika coming under this rule which denotes the sense of inclusion of the suffix kelimar (= elima).

The intention of the inclusion of this suffix under this sūtra is that semantically both of the suffixes elima and tavya are same i.e. they are used in passive sense. The word formed by the suffix elima is pacelimāḥ māṣāḥ bhidelimāni kāṣṭhāni. The word pacelima and bhidelima are equal to paktavya and bhettavya respectively.

As both of the suffixes carry the same meaning Kātyāyana, the vārttikakāra has included the suffix elima (kelimaR) under this rule.

There are different of opinions regarding the suffix kelimaR. The author of kāś states that the suffix kelimaR is used in the sense of karmakartari. Cf. the vṛtti "karma-kartari cāyamiṣyate". If we examine Siddhānta Kaumudī, we will find that this suffix is used in karmaṇi sense. The view of kāś also goes against MBH., as it is stated in Siddhānta Kaumudī. According to Bhaṭṭoji (BD) and MBH this suffix is to be employed in hthe sense of bhāva and karma and never in kartari sense. This suffix is discussed in Siddhānta Kaumudī like this - "pacelimā māṣāḥ paktavyāḥ bhidelimāḥ saralāḥ bhettavyāḥ , karmaṇi pratyayaḥ' vṛttikārastu " karmakartari Cāyamiṣyate ". ityāha ' tadbhāṣyaviruddham".[36] From the above statement , it is known that both BD and Ptj. state that the suffix kelimaR is used in the passive sense.

If we examine the usage in the language, we find that the suffix kelimaR is used in karmaṇi sense. Ptj. and BD seem to be right, where does the kāśikākāra get the kartari sense for the suffix kelimaR from is not tracable.

The next grammarian is S. of Kv. He has shown the application of tavya and anīya, as it is known from the vṛtti which states "dhātoḥ pare tavyānīyau kṛtasamjñako bhavataḥ ".[37] He has not given any indication regarding the usage of the suffix tavyaṭ.

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36. Vasu S.C. (Ed) Siddhānta Kaumudī Vol.II, Part II, pp.3-4. Motilal Banarasi Dass, 1962.

37. Eggling, J. (Ed.), Kātantram pp.326-327, Calcutta, 1874.

Two vārtikas are also seen under the rule as it is in Aṣṭ. Regarding the suffix kelimar, the author has given the opinion that it is used in karmakartari sense. This view is the same as that of kāś. For the second vārttika, it is available in the KV as vāstavya iti kartari dirghāya rud-hitvāt. The author says that the lengthening in vāstavya in a kartari sense is because of rudhi i.e. usage. Otherwise the real form should be vastavya.

Candragomin, the author of CV has given two separate rules for the single rule of P. The vṛtti of the first sūtra : tavyānīyar kelimarah C.1.1.105 is "tavyādayah kriyārthāt pare bhāvāpyayorvahulaṁ bhavanti kartavyam. karaṇīyam , kartavyah kaṭah karaṇīyah kaṭah , bhidelimā māṣāh , vahulādhikārāt karaṇādiṣvapi bhavanti. snānīyaṁ curṇam , dānīyo brāhmaṇah , samāvartanīyo guruh ' pravacanīyo'a upādhyāyah , upasthānīyah śiṣyah ' tavyasya vā svaritatvaṁ vakaṣāmah ".[38]

According to C, the meaning of the suffix tavya and anīyaR is in karmaṇi and bhāva, Much at the same time because of the vahulādhikāra the meaning also karaṇa, sampradāna, apādāna, and also in kartari sense. As we find the example in the vṛtti quoted above pravacanīya upādhyāyah

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38. Chatterji, K.C. (Ed.) Cāndra vyākaraṇa of chandragomin Part I, p.40, Deccan College Post-Graduate Research Institute, Poona, 1953.

in kartari sense, snānīyam curṇam for karaṇa sense, dānīyo brāhmaṇa for sampradāna, samāvartanīyo guruḥ for apādāna. C's vṛtti refers to accent but does not treat the accent independently.

For the second vārttika, which find under P's rule, C has given an independent rule as vāstavyaḥ C.1.1.106. In this rule it is said that the form vāstavya is formed from the root vas by the addition of the suffix tavya. The kartari sense and dīrghatva of the word vāstavya is solved by the nipātana.

The suffix tavyaT is not found in this grammar.

In Jv, the corresponding sūtra gives the application of the suffix tavya and anīya. Like the CV, KV, we donot find the tavyaT suffix here. Apart from this the suffix kelimaR is dropped in this grammar. He notes the form vāstavya in the commentary of the rule tavyānīyau D.2.1.83. The form vāstavya is explained as "vāstu kṣetram tasmād-bhavādayarthe dīgāditvādyaḥ "[39] It is very clear from his explanation of the form vāstavya, that D takes the form vāstavya as a taddhita derivative from the noun vāstu which means a house. Thus, we find that this is a measure departature of D from P. It is also to be noted that D has taken this form

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39. Tripathy Ś.N. (Ed) Jainendra vyākaraṇa, P.97, First Edn. Bhāratīya Jñānapiṭha, Kāśī, 1956.

vāstavya as a taddhita derivative, where as P, Sar, C have taken it as a kṛdanta derivative. Apart from this author has followed P as it is known from the vṛtti, Cf. the vṛtti, "tavya anīya ityetau tyau bhavataḥ ".[40] Ś. the author of ŚV has only treated the suffix tavya and anīya. The suffix tavyaT is not found in the sūtra prescribed by him. In the vṛtti of the sūtra it is stated "dhātostavya anīyau ityetau pratyayau bhavataḥ "[41]

The suffix kelimaR is also dropped in this grammar. Because neither in the vṛtti nor in the sūtra the suffix kelimaR is available.

The word vāstavya is treated as a secondary formation in this grammar, but not a kṛdanta formation as it is discussed in the vṛtti. The vṛtti is 'vāstavya iti tadvati vastuni bhavati ". Therefore we can say Ś has not followed P, but he has followed D. for the derivation of the word vāstavya, nothing is given in the vṛtti.

Bh in Sk has treated all the three suffixes viz. tavya, tavyaT, anīyaR in the corresponding sūtra. In the vṛtti it is said that after the root, tavyaT, tavya and anīyaR suffix will be applied. Cf the vṛtti " dhātorityanuvartate,

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40. Ibid.

41. Tripāthy Ś.N. (Ed.) śakatāyana vyākaraṇa p.393, First Edn. Bhāratīya Jñānapiṭha Prakāśana. 1971.

tatastavyat tavya anīyar ityete pratyayā bhāvakarmaporvahulam bhavanti[42]. After P, Bh is the only post-pāṇinian grammarian who alone gives the suffix tavyaT and tavya. Bh also states the cause for the difference between tavya and tavyaT. For difference he has stated two reasons.

i) Both the suffixes have the different accent.

ii) Both of them having different compound i.e. in the case of one, the word is compounded and in other case the word is not compounded.

Actually it is not clear from the commentary on the sūtra whether the form kartavya in brāhmaṇakartavyam ends in tavyaT or tavya. We do not know which form ends in tavyaT and which is in tavya. Perhaps, the commentator is not clear, therefore he does not make the things clear. But in order to do justice to Bh, we can say on the basis of the order in which he gives the examples kartavyam bhavatā, kartavyah kaṭah , brāhmaṇakartavyam and brāhmaṇasya kartavyam, that the form kartavya in brāhmaṇa kartavyam corresponds to kartavya in kartavyam bhavatā and that the form kartavyam in brāhmaṇasya kartavyam corresponds to kartavya in kartavyah kaṭah . As is clear the kartavya in kartavyam bhavatā is in a bhāva sense and that in kartavyah kaṭah is in a karmaṇi sense. We can, therefore,

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42. Śāstrī K.S. (Ed.) Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa, Part I, p.120, Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, Trivandrum, 1935.

say on the basis of the correspondences noted above that kartavya in the compound brāhmaṇakartavyam is in bhāva sense and that in brāhmaṇasya kartavyam is in karmaṇi sense.

The above whole argument is again based on the fact that Bh. gives the examples in the order in which he has enumerated the words bhāva and karma in the sūtra bhāvakarmaṇoḥ P.1.3.13. Thus to put it in a more clear way, it will be like the following.

bhāva	karma
tavyaT	tavya
kartavyam bhavatā	kartavyaḥ kaṭaḥ
brāhmaṇakartavyam	brāhmaṇasya kartavyam

But this whole argument seems to be not very convencing. Bh. does not mark any accent mark on the words. Otherwise because of the difference mark of the accent, it would have been an easy matter to know which word ends in tavya and which ends in tavyaT from both the examples brāhmaṇa kartavyam and brāhmaṇasya kartavyam.

Like C, Bh has given a separate rule for the word vāstavya. The rule is vāstavyaḥ kartarī Bh.1.3.129. As per this rule, the word vāstavya is derived by the suffix tavyaT, in kartarī sense as a kṛdanta formation but not as a taddhita formation. He therefore, fallows P. The vṛddhi in vāstavya is because of the nipātana. It is

also clearly mentioned in the vṛtti. Cf. the vṛtti, "nipātanād vṛddhi svaritāntatvaṁ ca bhavati /."[43] The word svaritāntatvam perhaps used for showing the accent. We can therefore, assume that svaritāntatvam means the accent svarita. That means the word vāstavya is haring antasvarita as the accent. Bh. however, goes to the greater detail so far as the suffix anīyaR is concerned. According to him the suffix anīyaR can be construed with the cases prathamā, tṛtīyā, caturthī, pañcamī, and saptamī. The sūtras are the following. For the prathamā vibhakti he has stated the sūtra pravacanīyopasthānīyaramaṇīyādayo vā Bh.1.3.130. The examples are pravacanīyaḥ upādhyāyaḥ , upasthānīyaḥ śiṣyaḥ .

The sūtra snānīyādayaḥ karaṇe Bh. 1.3.131 is stated for the tṛtīyā vibhakti. The examples are snānīyaṁ curṇaṁ , yānīyo'śvaḥ . The sūtra dānīyādayaḥ sampradāne Bh.1.3.132 is given for the caturthī vibhakti. The examples are dānīyo brāhmaṇaḥ , spṛhaṇīyā śrīḥ . The sūtra so s samāvartanīyādayo' pādāne Bh.1.3.133 is given for the pañcamī vibhakti. The examples are samāvartanīyp gurūḥ udvejanīyaḥ khalaḥ . The sūtra meant for the saptamī vibhakti is sthānīyādayo'dhikaraṇe Bh.1.3.134. The examples are sthānīyaṁ nagaraṁ, śayanīya prayaṅkaḥ .

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43. Ibid. p.121.

Like CV, Bh also gives an independent rule for the kelimaR suffix. The rule is kelimarakarmakartarī. Bh. 1.3.135. The author has given the examples to justify the kartari sense. The example found in the vrtti are pacyante svayameva pacelimā māṣāḥ , bhidyante svayameva bhidelimāni kāṣṭhāni . But these examples donot show any light whether both of the words are in kartari or karmaṇi sense. These very examples are quoted by BD also but for karmaṇi sense. Bh therefore, does not seem to be very clear on this point. These are all examples from karmaṇi sense. The example for the real kartari sense will be bhindanti iti bhidelimāḥ "those which cut", pacanti iti pacetimāḥ , "those which cook", Bh and others including kāśikākāra seem to be confused as regards the difference between a karmaṇi sense and reflexive (which is nearer to ātmanepada) sense, which requires the condition of kartrabhiprāya according to paninian sūtra svaritañitaḥ kartrabhiprāye kriyāphale P.1.3.72. This kartrabhiprāya does not necessarily mean the kartari sense. A sentence can be karmaṇi and yet can have kartrabhiprāya kriyāphala as in the above example pacyante svayameva etc. Actually kartrabhiprāya kriyāphala aims to decide the ātmanepada and not to determine kartari, karmaṇi or bhāva sense.

H. states only two suffixes viz. tavya and anīya in corresponding sūtra . The suffix tavyaT is absent.

The form vāstavya is derived by nipātana; as it is known from vṛtti, cf. the vṛtti; "dhātoḥ parau tavya anīya ityetau pratyayau bhavataḥ ."[44] Instead of the suffix tavyat, the commentary on the sūtra rūcyāvyathyavāstavyam. H.5.1.5 sees in it a suffix viz. tavyaN. ṇ indicates the vṛddhi. The meaning of vāstavya is kartari. Cf. his explanation. "vasati iti vāstavyam".

The suffix kelima is given in the sūtra vyāpye ghurakelimakṛṣṭapacyam H.5.1.4; and it is in a kartari sense. cf. the vṛtti pacyante svayameva pacelimā māṣāḥ, bhidelimāḥ tandulāḥ He also shares with the others the confusion regarding the reflexive sense and the kartari sense.

In SV, we find the rule as in HS. The author has neither mentioned about the suffix kelimaR nor regarding the formation of the word vāstavya. The suffix tavyaT is also dropped. So the sūtra is not full flegdged one. From the vṛtti, it is known that the author has followed P, although it does not mention each and every point as it is in P's grammar. cf. the vṛtti, "dhātostavyānīyau pratyayau bhavataḥ bhāvādau.[45]

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44. Śrīsiddhahemacandrānuśāsana, Śrī Amṛtajaina sāhityavardhaka sabhā (Pub.) (Shah M.O.) p.355, Bombay, 1881.

45. Kudāl Śivadatta, (Ed.) Sārasvata vyākaraṇa ,pp.450-451, Fourth Edn. Nirnayasagara Press, Bombay,1926.

In MV, the corresponding rule is tavyānīyadhabhāve . "The vṛtti is "dhorete, syurdhabhāve. cetavyaṁ cayanīyaṁ ceyaṁ punyaṁ, bhavitavyaṁ bhavanīyaṁ bhavyaṁ tvayā " [46] From the vṛtti, it seems that the commentator has used the yaT suffix along with the suffix tavya and anīya , for which we get, the forms like ceyaṁ and bhavyaṁ. But the suffix tavyaT is dropped in this grammar.

In this grammar, the suffix kelimaR(elima) is given by a separate rule i.e. dho kelima dhadhe (V.988.) He has described the form paceralimā and bhidelimā in the vṛtti of the sūtra (V.988), cf. the vṛtti, "svayameva pacyante iti pacelimāḥ taṇḍulāḥ evaṁ bhidelimāḥ māṣāḥ " (cf. MV P.735). The word vāstya is only found in the commentary of the sūtra kṛddh ka bhāve. (V.965). The vṛtti is, "tena dhabhāvayorbihitastavyo vastateḥ karttaryyapi syāt. yathā vasatiti vāstavya (MV.p.724).

In Jmv, the correspondit rule is tavyaṅanīyaṅau , where ṅ is added to both of the suffixes tavya and anīya , as the it letter. The commentator has also given the cause for the addition of ṅ as it letters. In the vṛtti, it is mentioned that, " ṅ kāro guṇārthaḥ." So for the guṇa , the ṅ is used

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46. Bhattācārya J.V., (Ed.) Mugdhavodha vyākaraṇa , p.725, 2nd Edn. Calcutta, 1902.

as the it letter. To justify the statement, he has given the examples like kartavyaṁ, karaṇīyam . In both the examples guṇa is available, which is opposite to Pāṇinian technique. Because according to P., the faction of it letter k,g, and ṅ to prevent guṇa and vṛddhi (cf. the sūtra kiṅtica P.1.1.5). The author has followed P, as it is known from the vṛtti,in this sūtra, cf. the vṛtti "bhāve karmaṇi ca vācye, sarvadhātubhyaḥ uttare sarvakāle tavyaṅ aṇīyaṅau bhavataḥ [47]

For the form vāstavya, the author has given the rule kartari vasestavyaṇ J.162. The vṛtti of this rule is "vas nivāse ityasmāt dhātoḥ kartari tavyaṇ bhavati, vasatīti vāstavya, (ṇititvāt vṛddhiḥ).[48] The author has followed P as the form vāstavya is derived as a kṛdanta formation. The aim of taking ṇ as it letter is only for vṛddhi, as it is clearly stated in the vṛtti . So the author has not made any nipātana for vṛddhi in the word vāstavya as it is done by other grammarians. The kartari sense of this word vāstavya is also given by the rule here, where as it is solved by nipātana in P. and other post-paninian grammarians. The suffix tavyaṆ of J. correspondences to tavyaT of P.

Like C and Bh, here the author also has gone to the greater detail so far as the suffix aṇīyaR is concerned.

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47. Rath C.S., (Ed.) Jumara saraṇī vyākaraṇa, p.433, kṛṣaka mudraṇālaya, Cuttack, Orissa,1949.

48. Ibid.

According to J, the author, the suffix anīyaR can be construed with the cases like tṛtīyā, caturthī and saptamī. The sūtras are the following. For the tṛtīyā and caturthī vibhakti he has stated the sūtra kvacid karaṇa sampradānayoś ca J.163. The example of tṛtīyā vibhakti is snāti anena iti snānīyam (taila). The example of caturthī vibhakti is dadāti dīyate asmai iti dānīya (viprah) . The sūtra for saptamī vibhakti is kvacidadhikaraṇe ca. J.164. The example is ramate ramyate vā yasmin iti ramaṇīyam (vanam).

According to the author of Jmv, the suffix tavya also can be, construed with the pañcamī vibhakti. The sūtra which he prescribes for this is bhiyo'pādāne ca tavyaṁ J.161. The example is vibheti vyāghrāt iti vetavyaḥ

The suffix kelimaR is dropped from this grammar. Because we do not find any reference regarding the above suffix from this grammar.

The second sūtra is aco yaT P.3.1.97. All other corresponding rules are mentioned below.

aco yaT	P.3.1.97
svarād yaḥ	S.4.2.10
yaT	C.1.1.107
yo'co'rāsuyuvaḥ	D.2.1.84.

pvaccatta kiśakaśasiyatsahiyaṅo'yvā-
suvaparapalapatrapadipadabhacamuryaḥ Ś.4.3.68
aco yaT Bh. 1.3.136
ya eccataḥ H. 5.1.28
svarādyaḥ A
khanattere ye V.969.

This rule gives the application of yaT suffix. The it letter t is used in the suffix for accent ādyudātta. cf. the sūtra yato'nāvaḥ P.6.1.213. The vṛtti of the sūtra is aco yat is, " ajantāddhātoryatpratyayo bhavati".[49] The vṛtti says that the vowel ending roots will have the yaT suffix.

Those roots who have originally vowel ending and in the course of time because of some grammatical development seem to have consonantal ending, will also take yaT suffix. As for example the root do and dho are originally vowel ending. We have ditsa and dhitsa, which end in a vowel a. But the a is elided before the ārdhadhātuka suffix. So finally we get dits and dhits. In this stage although these two roots seem to be consonant ending, still then yaT suffix will be applied here.

Apart from this we find two vārttikas under this rule. The first vārttika takiśasicatiyatijanināmupasankhyānam

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49. a) Vasu S.C.(Ed.) Aṣṭ, op.cit.p.385.
b) Sarma, A. Op.cit. p.198.

aims at inclusion of some consonant ending roots under this rule for which yaT suffix will be applied instead of, ṆyaT. These roots are tak (to fly) , śas (to sleep), cat (to ask), yat (to attempt) and jan (to be born).

The second vārttika hano vā vadha ca clearifies that the yaT suffix will be applied optionally to root vadh, the substitute of the root han. So by this vārttika the word vadhyam will have the yaT suffix and ghātyam will have the ṆyaT suffix.

A note is found in SKau. of BD commented by Vasu, S.C. There it is mentioned that it is not necessary to make a separate rule that vowel ending roots will take the ṆyaT suffix, as it is obvious from the rule ṛhalor ṇyat P.3.1.124. The other suggestion which he makes is that the word yaT should be attatched to the rule tavyattavyānīyar and make it like tavyattavyānīyarayatah . Then the meaning will be, the suffix tavyaT, tavya, anīyaR and yaT comes after the verbs.

But this is not totally correct view. The word aC is necessary in the sūtra and it refers to the basic vowel in the basic root. If this word would not have been there, then in the circumstances. dits and dhits, both ending in consonant would have been taken as consonant endings and would have been liable to the suffix ṆyaT according to ṛhalor

nyat P.3.1.124. It would have given the forms daitsam, dhaitsam with vrddhi. Therefore, inorder to avoid any ambiguity P specifically mentions the word aco in the sūtra. It seems that perhaps BD might have taken the idea from CV and some other post-paninian grammars which do not use the word ac. cf. the sūtra yaT C.1.1.107.

In KV, t is not used as the it letter of the suffix yaT in the corresponding sūtra svarād yaḥ S.4.2.10. Because S, the author has not dealt with the accent system. From the vrtti it is known that the word svara is given only for mukhasukhārtha cf. the vrtti,

> "svarāntād dhātoḥ yo bhavati, ceyam, cetavyam, svarādini sukhārthameva ".[50] No importance is given to svara by the vrttikāra. Apart from this KV is silent regarding the two vārttikas given in the Ast. From the above quoted vrtti it is known that the author has followed P in this rule.

In CV, the corresponding rule is yaT, here we do not find the word aC in the sūtra. In the vrtti it is said "kriyārthād bahulam bhāvāpyayor yat paro bhavati".[51] That means the suffix yaT will be added to the roots in bhāva sense. Here the word bahula is used, because the author has

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50. Eggling J, Op.cit. p.327

51. Chatterji, K.C. Op.cit.p.40

given the examples of different cases where yaT suffix is used as bhavyaḥ puruṣaḥ geyāni brāhmaṇāni sāmāni.

C has justified the first vārttika in the next sūtra puśakitakicatiyati śasi sahiyajaḥ C.1.1.108. (which is discussed in the latter pages as it corresponds to the rule P.3.1.98 and 3.1.99). Regarding the second vārttika, the author is silent.

In JV, the corresponding rule is yo'co'rāsayavaḥ D.2.1.84. In this rule the author has followed P, as it is known from the vṛtti Cf. the vṛtti, "ya ityaṁ tyo bharatyajantāddhoḥ ṛvarṇānta āsu yu ityetāṇ varjaitvā. deyam, geyaṁ ditsyaṁ dhitsyam ityatra age ye parato'taḥ kham, acaiti kim ? pākyam, arāsuyuvu iti kim ? kāryam hāryam āsāvyam, yāvyam' "[52]

In śv, the corresponding rule is Ś.4.3.68. This rule corresponds to the rules P.3.1.97 and P.3.1.98. In the vṛtti it is mentioned, "pavargāntādajantāccat taki śasi yat sahi ityetebhyaśca dhātubhyo yapratyayo bhavati yu āsu vapa rapa lapa trapa dipa dabha cama ityetān ṛvarṇāntāṁśca varjaitvā. pu - śapyam labhyam gamyam ramyam ac - deyam dheyam lavyam pavyam catādibhyaḥ - catyam takyam, śakyam, śasyam yatyam sahyam yajyam, tyajyamiti vacanād ghyaṇapi

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52. Tripāthy Ś.N. JV, op. cit. p.67.

yājyam pvādiprati sedhaḥ kim ? yāvyam, āsāvyam vāpyam rāpyam, lāpyam apatrāpyam depyam dābhyam ācāmyam kāryam ḍipe kudāditvādya ekāro na labhyata iti ghyaneva prāpyate "[53] From the vṛtti it is clear that the author has followed P in this sūtra. From the two vārttikas, the first one is given in the sūtra where as the second one is totally left by the author.

In SK, the corresponding rule is aco yaT E.1.3.136. In this rule the author has taken the suffix yaT as the apavāda of the suffix tavyaT , tavya and anīyaR . The commentator has observed minutely and remarked like wise. "tavyattavyānīyarāmapavādaḥ -kṛdvāsarupo'strīyāmiti vacanāt pakṣe siddha bhavanti ".[54] yaT suffix is the apavāda of tavya, tavyaT and anīyaR , because, because of the rule vāso rupa'strīyām P.3.1.94, we are getting two sorts of forms i.e. cetavya ceya, and pānīya, peya etc. optionally. Otherwise the forms derived out of tavya would not been available.

More clearly, tavyattavyānīyar P.3.1.96 is a general rule i.e. utsarga sūtra , where there is no restriction for the application of the suffix tavyaT, tavya and anīyaR . The sūtra aco yaT P.3.1.97 is an apavāda sūtra for the rule tavyattavyānīyaR P.3.1.96. Because the sūtra

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53. Trīpathy Ś.N., ŚV, Op.cit p.393.

54. Śāstrī, K.S. Op.cit.p.122.

has the restriction for its own application. The suffix yaT will be added only to the vowel ending roots. As to the apavāda rule aco yaT , there is no scope for the application of the utsarga rule tavyattavyānīyarau. Because of the rule vā'sorūpo'strīyām, P.3.1.94 optionally we get the forms derived out of both tavya/ anīya and yaT also . The suffix tavya, anīya and yaT are asarūpa suffixes. For this reason we get two types of forms cetavya, cayanīya and ceya. If at all both of these suffixes would have been sarūpa suffix, we would not have got the forms derived out of tavyaT, tavya, anīyaR.

In the commentary it is also mentioned that ṆyaT suffix will be applied to the ṛ ending and consonant ending roots and from this statement it is sure that the word aC is given in the sūtra because the yaT suffix will be added to the roots originally which are vowel ending. cf. the vṛtti of the sūtra Bh.1.3.136, " ṛvarṇāntāt ṇyantaṃ vakṣayatiti aj grahaṇamajantabhūtapūrvādapi yathā syāt ditsyaṃ,dhitsyaṃ". The significance of the word ac is to stress the fact that the roots much originally possess the vowel ending; they may get a consonant ending in the grammatical procedure but does not come in the way of taking them as vowel ending roots. From the above discussion and as well as from the vṛtti it is clear that the author has followed P.

In HS, the corresponding rule is ya accātaḥ H.5.1.28 from the vṛtti of the sūtra it is obvious that the author

has followed P. cf. the vṛtti , "ṛvarṇa vyañjanāntāt ghyaṇo vihitatvāt pariśiṣṭāt ṛvarṇāntāddhātoryaḥ pratyayo bhavati antyākārasya caikāro bhavati ditsyam dhitsyam ceyam, jeyam, neyam, śeyam, navyam, lavyam bhavyam, eccāṭaḥ -deyam, dheyam ".[55] The only point is to be mentioned here that in this sūtra H says when ya suffix is added, a and ā becomes e. From the root pā and dā, we get the forms peyam-deyam respectively.

In SV, the corresponding rule is svarādyaḥ . The author has followed the principle of P, as it is known from the vṛtti. Cf. the vṛtti, " svarāntāddhātoryaḥ pratyayo bhavati bhāvādau ciyate vā cetumarhaṁ ceyam neyam asarupo'pavādaḥ pratyayo'striyāṁ vā bādhakaḥ sarūpastu nityam, cīyate vā cetumarhaṁ cetavyam cayanīyaṁ ".[56] For the justification of all these forms cetavyaṁ, cayanīyaṁ, ceyam the author has followed the vṛtti of SK. What Bh. has observed is reflected here. Again in the vṛtti the words like kṣayyam are jayyam are justified by the process of nipātana as it is mentioned in the vṛtti, "kṣayyajayyau śakyārthe nipātyate". Otherwise the form would be kṣeyam and jeyyam.

In MV the corresponding rule is V.969, From the vṛtti it is known that the author has followed P. without any change. Cf. the vṛtti, " khana ādentasya ca ṭe re syāt ye pare kheyam, deyam."[57]

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55. HS, Op.cit. p.335.
56. Kudāl Ś, Op.cit.p.451.
57. Bhattācārya J.V. Op.cit.p.727.

The only thing that V seem to be different because of the application of some new peculiar technical terms like khana, ṭe The word khana means the root khan, ṭe means the genetive case of ṭi and ādanta dhātu means the root ending in vowels.

In Jmv. there is no sūtra corresponding to the above sūtra. This fact indicates that Jmv is not complete.

Poradupadhāt P.3.1.98

śakisahipavargāntācca S.4.2.11

puśakitakicatiyatiśasisahiyajoḥ C.1.1.108.

poraduṇo'trapivapirapilapicamaḥ D.2.1.85

pvaccattakiśasiyatsahiyaṇo'yvā-

guvaparapalapatrapadipadabhacamuryaḥ Ś.4.3.68

poradupadhāt Bh. 1.3.139

śakitakicatiyatiśasisahiyajibhajipavargāt H.5.1.29

puśakāt - A

pu śaka sahataka catayata śaso'coma vopa rapa lapa trapa dabhoyo bhaja japa yajānāmastu vā V.976.

Like the previous rule, this rule gives the application of the suffix yaT. The sūtra says the suffix yaT comes after a root which ends in a pavarga with a as upadhā. Cf. the vṛtti, "pavargāntāddhātorakāropadhādyatpratyayo bhavati. ṇyato'pavādaḥ śap - śapyam labh - lobhyam"[58]

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58. a) Vasu S.C., (Ed.) Aṣṭ, op.cit.pp.385-386

b) Śarmā Aryendra, Op.cit. p.198

The previous rule aco yaT says only the application of yaT suffix to the vowel ending roots. Now this rule extends its application. As per this rule this suffix will also be applicable to the roots which have pa varga letter at the end and preceded by root a. By this rule we get the forms like śapyam, labhayam etc.

The word at used in the sūtra to indicate the mātrā short. cf. the sūtra taparatat kālasya P.1.1.70. This rule gives us two more conditions for the application of yaT suffix viz. pa varga ending and adupadhatva.

In KV, the corresponding sūtra is śaki sahipavargāntācca S.4.2.11. The vṛtti is "śaki sahi pavarga antāt ca dhātoḥ yo bhavati".[59] Śakyam, sahyam, japyam etc. From the vṛtti it is known that the author has followed P. This rule corresponds to P's two rules i.e. the present and the next rule.

The corresponding rule of CV is puśakitakicatiyatisasisahiyajaḥ C.1.1.108. In this rule the author has totally followed P, as it is known from the vṛtti, cf. the vṛtti, "pavargāntācchakādibhyaśca bhāvāpyayorbahulaṁ yad bhavati, japyam, labhyam śakyam takyam catyam yatyam śasyam sahyam, yajyam janivadhoriqupāntānāṁ ca svaraṁ vakṣāmaḥ ".[60]

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59. Eggling J, Op.cit. p.327 .

60. Chatterji K.C., Op.cit. pp.40-41.

The corresponding rule in JV is D.2.1.85. The author has followed P so far as the vṛtti of the sūtra is concerned. Cf. the vṛtti, "pavargāntāddhoraduṅo ya ityayaṁ tyo bhavati trapivapirapilapicamīn varjaitvārabhyam labhyam samatvena ṇyāpavādo'yam poriti kim ? vāćyam. aduṅ iti kim ? depyam kuṭāditvādemna syāt. taparakaraṇamasamd ehārtham atrapivapirapilapicama iti kim ? trāpyam, vāpyam , rāpyam, lāpyam, ācāmyam."[61]

The corresponding rule of ŚV is Ś.4.3.68. From the vṛtti[62] of the sūtra it is obvious that the author has followed the principle of P. for the derivation of these forms. Like D, here the author also has mentioned some roots like vap, lap and trap are mentioned which will take ṆyaT suffix ałthough these are ending in p varaga . This rule also corresponds to this rule and the previous rule of Aṣṭ. In SK of Bh, the corresponding rule is poradupadhāt Bh. 1.3.139. The vṛtti of the sūtra is "pavargāntād dhātorakāropadhāt bhāvakarmaṇor bahulaṁ yat bhavati nyato'pavādaḥ, japyam, labhyaṁ, gamyaṁ adupadhāditi kim. kapyam, gopyam, apyam taparakaraṇam tatkālavadhāraṇārtham āpyam"[63] The suffix yaT will be added to the roots ending in pa varga and the roots having a as upadhā. The meaning and the vṛtti of the sūtra is identical with that of P, so the author has followed P.

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61. Tripāthy Ś.N. JV., Op.cit.p.68.
62. For Vṛtti see the foot note No.53.
63. Śāstri K. Sāmbaśiva, op.cit. p.122.

The corresponding rule in HS is śakitakicatiyatiśa-sisahiyajibhajipavargāt H.5.1.29. The vṛtti is, "śakādibhyaḥ pavargāntebhyaśca dhātubhyo yaḥ pratyayo bhavati, ghynopavādaḥ"[64] From the vṛtti of the sūtra it is clear that the author has followed P., No other new point is added either by commentator or by the author.

As it is seen in some of the post-paninian grammars some rules are combined together and become one, here in SV, both the rules poradupadhāt and śakisahośca are combined together. The corresponding sūtra is puśakāt. The vṛtti of the sūtra is "pavargāntāt śakādeśca yaḥ pratyayo bhavati bhāvādau".[65] The root ending in p varga and śakādi roots i.e. the roots like śak, saha, gad mad, car yam, tak, śas, cat, yat, pat, jan, han, śat and ruc. (These roots are in śakādi gaṇa as stated in the vṛtti) will take the yaT suffix. From the vṛtti, it is obvious that the author has followed P.

The corresponding rule is V.976. In this rule the author has followed P as it is known from the vṛtti , Cf. the vṛtti, "pavargāntāt śakādeśca camādi varjāt yaḥ syāt dha bhāve. rabhyaṁ śakyaṁ sahyaṁ takyaṁ catyaṁ yatyaṁ. bhajyaṁ bhāgyaṁ japyaṁ jāpyaṁ yajyaṁ yājyaṁ, ānamyaṁ ānāmyaṁ amādestu

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64. HS, Op.cit.p.335.
66. Kudāl, Ś, Op.cit.p.452.

ācāmyam vāpyam rāpyam lāpyam trāpyam dābhyam anakā-ra nirdeśāt.[66]

In Jmv, the corresponding sūtra is not available.

śakisahośca P.3.1.99.

śakisahipavargāntācca S.4.2.11

puśakitakicatiyatiśasisahiyajah C.1.1.108

śakisahośca D.2.1.86

pvaccattakiśasiyatsahi yaṅovāsuvaparapalapatrapadipa dabhacamuryah - Ś.4.3.68

śakitakicatiyatiśasisahivadhi-yajibhajibhyah Bh.1.3.140.

śakitakicatiyatiśasisahiyajibhajipavargāt - H.5.1.29.

Pu śakāt - A.

puśakasahatakacatayatasaso'camavaparapalapa trapadabhoyobhaja japa yajānāmastu V.976.

The sūtra śakisahośca gives the application of the suffix yaT to the root śak and sah. The vṛtti of the sūtra is, "śakṝśaktau, saha marṣaṇe, anayor-dhātvoḥ yat pratyaya bhavati"[67] This rule gives us the forms śakya and sahya . Most of the post-pāṇinian grammarians have combined the rule and made it one. Only D, the author of JV and Bh, the author of SK have given the separate sūtra like P.

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66. Bhattācārya J.V., Op.cit. p.730

67. a) Vasu S.C., Aṣṭ.Op.cit. p.386

b) Śarmā.A Op.cit. p.198

The corresponding rule in JV is śakisahośca D.2.1.86. The author has fallowed P in this sūtra, as it is known from the vṛtti, Cf. the vṛtti "śakisaḥ ityetābhyām yo bhavati. śakyam, sahyam cakāro'nuktasamuccayārthaḥ tena sasitaki-catiyatiyajijanīnām saṁgrahaḥ."[68] The author has just followed P.

In śk, the corresponding sūtra is śakitakicatiyatiśasi-sahivadhiyajibhajibhyaḥ Bh. 1.3.140. The author has followed P in this sūtra. The only difference is that the author has mentioned the roots like tak, cat, yat, śas, vadh, yaj, and bhaj in the sūtra which are given by P in the vārttika taki śasicatiyatijanīnāmupasaṅkhyānam. under the rule aco yaT. From the vṛtti it is obvious that the author has followed P in this sūtra, Cf. the vṛtti "śakādibhyo dhātubhyo bhāvakarmaṇo yatpratyayo bhavati ṇyato'pavādaḥ ".[69]

In Jmv. this sūtra is not available. Apart from this all other grammarians like S, C, Ś, H, A, and M have given the corresponding sūtras which correspond to the previous and the present sūtra , so these sūtras have been already discussed in the previous rule.

gadamadacarayamaścānupasarge	P.3.1.100
yamimadigadātvanupasarge	S.4.2.13.

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68. Tripāthy Ś.N. JV., Op. cit P.98.

69. Śāstrī K.S., Op.cit. p.122.

gadamadayamo'prādeḥ	C.1.1.109
gadamadacarayamo'ge	D.2.1.87
gadamadyamo'nupasarge	Ś.4.3.69
gadamadyamibhyo'nupasarge	Bh. 1.3.111
yamamadagado'nupasargāt	H. 5.1.30
gadamadayamacarācaro'geryaḥ puśakāt-A	V.979

This rule gives the application of the suffix yaT to the roots gad, mad, car and yam, when these roots do not have any upasarga, Cf. the vṛtti "gadamada-cara-yama etebhyaḥ ścānupasargebhyo yatpratyayo bhavati".[70]

A vārttika is given under the rule called care rāni cā-gurau. The vārttika says that the root car will take the yaT when preceded by the upasarga ān and when it does not mean a teacher. The form is ācarya whichme means deśe i.e. an approachable or communicable country. When it means a teacher, the suffix ṆyaT will be applied and we get the form ācārya.

In KV the corresponding rule is yamimadigadātvanupasarge.[71] The vṛtti is "eṣāmupasargābhāve tu yo bhavati". From the vṛtti it is known that the author of KV has followed P.

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70. a) Vasu S.C., Aṣṭ. op. cit. p.386.
b) Śarmā, A.Op.cit.p.198.

71. Eggling, J., Op.cit.p.327.

For the vārttika carerāṅi cāgurau, the author has given a separate sūtra i.e. carerāṅi cāgurau S.4.2.14. The author is having the same opinion with that vārttika. One point must be mentioned here that by this vārttika, the form ācarya is found, but not given by paninian sūtra as this form was not usable in the society at the paninian time so the great grammarian P had left this word, which is added latter on by the vārttikakāra. But it seems that at the time of S, the above form ācārya was usable in the society, for which the author of KV has to give a rule for this single form.

In CV, the corresponding rule is gadamadayamo'prādeḥ C.1.1.109, When we see the vṛtti of the sūtra, it is confimed that the author has followed P. Cf.the vṛtti "gadādibhyaḥ prādirahitebhyo yaT bhavati".[72]

For the root car, C, has given a separate sūtra which is known as caraḥ C.1.1.110. We do not know why the author has prescribed a separate sūtra for the root car. Because the vṛtti of the sūtra does not give any light regarding this and it is identical with that of P. Again for the vārttika like S, the author has introduced an iddependent mule called agurāvāṅaḥ C.1.1.111. But in all these three sūtras , the author has followed P.

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72. Chatterji K.C., Op.cit. p.41.

In JV, the corresponding rule is gadamadacarayamo'ge. D.2.1.87. From the vṛtti, it is clear that the author has followed P. The vṛtti is "gadamadacarayama ityetebhyo'gipurvebhyah yastyo bhavati".[73] The vārttika careraṅi cāgurau is also given this grammar, where the author has also followed the vārtikakāra.

In ŚV , the corresponding rule is gadmadyamo'nupasargāt, Ś.4.3.69, Like CV, in this grammar we find three rules, For the root car, he has given an independent rule carah - Ś.4.3.70. Again for the vārttika careraṅi cāgurau, he has given a rule called āṅo'gurau Ś. 4.3.71. So far as the division and construction of the sūtras are concerned, the author has followed CV. The vṛtti of the sūtra confirms that the author has followed P. Cf. the vṛtti, "gadamadyamityetebhyo'nupasargebhyo yapratyayo bhavati".[74]

In SK, the corresponding rule is gadamadayamibhyo'nupasarge Bh. 1.3.141. The author of this grammar holds the same view as it is in Aṣṭ. and it is confirmed by the vṛtti, Cf. the vṛtti, "gadādibhyo'nupasargebhyo bhāvakarmaṇoryatpratyayo bhavati".[75]

For the root car and the above discussed vārttika, the author has given a separate sūtra called careraṅi cāgurau

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73. Tripāthy Ś.N. JV, Op.cit. p.98

74. Tripāthy, Ś.N., ŚV Op.cit. p.393.

75. Śāstrī, K.S., Op.cit. p.123.

Bh. 1.3.142. The author has also followed P. and the vārttikakāra so far as this rule goes, as it is known from the vṛtti. Cf. the, vṛtti "careranupasargādānupasṛṣṭāccā-gurāvarthe bhāvakarmanyoryatpratyayo bhavati".
In HS, the corresponding rule yamamadagado'nupasargāt H.5.1.30. From the vṛtti of this rule it is known that the author has followed P. cf. the vṛtti, "upasargarahitebhya ebhyo yaḥ pratyayo bhavanti".[76]

Like SK, the author has given an independent rule for the root car and the above discussed vārttika. The rule is carefāṅstvagurau H.5.1.31. The vṛtti of the sūtra is "anupasargāccarerāṅpūrvāttvagurāvarthe yo bhavati"[77] It also clear from the above vṛtti that the author has followed P.

In SV, the corresponding rule is not available. But these roots like gad, mad, car, yam are stated in the vṛtti of the previous rule pūśakāt. In this grammar, the root gad, mad, car and yam are included under śaka gaṇa. For better clearification Cf. the vṛtti of the previous sūtra pūśakāt. The vṛtti is, " śak sah gad mad car yam takśas cat yat patjan hanśal rūcu ete śakādayaḥ.[78] So as these roots included under śakagaṇa and discussed in the previous sūtra, these are not mentioned separately.

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76. HS, Op.cit. p.335.

77. Ibid,

78. See the foot note No.65.

In MV, the corresponding rule is gadamadayamacarācaro' geryah V.979. The vārttika which is given separately by the other grammarians is added here in the sūtra. From the vṛtti it is clear that the author has followe P. Cf. the vṛtti "agibhya ebhyo yah śāt dhabhāve" [79]

In Jmv, the corresponding sūtra is not available . Now the question arises, the root yam is already accepted in the rule poradupadhāt, then what is the necessity of include the said root again in the present rule gadamadacarayamaścānupasarge.

For the answer we have to turn to kāśikā. It mentions a line which means that previously yam is taken in the meaning of uparama but here yam is used in the sense of niyama and it will be used without any upasarga. Where as this upasarga barrier is not prevailed in the case uparama i.e. when yam indicates the meaning uparama. Cf. the vṛtti from kaś. "yameḥ purveṇaiva siddhe anupasarganiyamārtha vacanam". S, the author of KV has supported P in this case as in the vṛtti it is given "yamo niyamārtha vacanam". C also declares the same view by quoting "yamoniyamārtham vacanam", in the vṛtti. D, of JV has followed P as he quotes the same view in the vṛtti Cf. the vṛtti "yamah "poreduṇe" (D.2.1.85) iti siddhe niyamārthamidam". Bh. also supports P, as he quotes "yamo niyamārtham vacanam ". in the vṛtti, In HS, the author

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79. Bhattācārya J.V., Op.cit. p.731.

has also support P as he says "pavargāntatvāt siddhe yamo niyamārtham vacanam anupasargāt eva yathā syāt " The other grammars like ŚV, SV, MV, Jmv. have not given such reason for the twice acceptance of the root yam in two different places.

avadyapaṇyavaryāgarhya paṇitavya-nirodheṣu	P.3.1.101.
paṇyāvadya varyā vikreyā-nirodheṣu	Ś.3.2.15.
avadyapaṇyavaryāgarhyavikreyānirodheṣu	C.1.1.112.
paṇyā'vadyavaryāvahyā'ryopasoryā'jaryaṇi	D.2.1.88
paṇo'pasurvravadādvikreyatumartyupeyāgarhye -	Ś.4.3.72
avadyapaṇyavaryāgarhyavikreyānirodheṣu	Bh.1.3.143
vyaorpasaryāvadyapaṇyamupeyartumatigarhyavikraye-	H.5.1.32
panyāvadyavaryyā cāryyavahyyajayyakṣayyakrayyā-yorpaaaryyājaryyam.	V.980.
paṇivahibhyāḥ vikrayya karaṇayoḥ	J.180.

This is a rule by which some irregular formations are given. The forms i.e. avadya, paṇya and varya are given in the sūtra which can not be found out in P's grammar in regular procedure. The meaning of the sūtra is the forms avadya, paṇya and varyā are irregularly formed, when the meaning is condemnable, saleable and unobstructable respectively. Cf.

the vṛtti, "avadyapaṇya varyā ityete śabdā nipātyante garhya paṇitavya anirodha ityetesvartheṣu yathāsaṅkhyam".[80]

If we go for the regular formations in paniniam procedure, instead of avadyam, we will get the form anudyam by the paṇinian rule vadasupi kyaP ca P.3.1.106. Instead of the form paṇya, in regular procedure we get the form pāṇya by the rule ṛhalor-ṇyat P.3.1.124. Instead of the form varyā, we will get the form vṛtyā in regular formative procedure. One point which must be mentioned is that the word varyā is feminine. If the word would be in masculine, then the form will be vāryā, by the addition of the suffix ṆyaT. As we find the form vāryā ṛtvijaḥ.*

In KV, the corresponding rule is paṇyāvadyavaryo vikreyagarhyānirodheṣu. The author has followed P. so far as this rule is concerned. It is known from the vṛtti of the sūtra. Cf. the vṛtti,"paṇyāmiti nipātyate vikreye'rthe paṇya vikrayadravyam nañpūrvasya vader vadyamiti nipātyate garhye arthe vṛṇo varyyāitya nirodhe gamyamāne".[81] The author has just followed P without any change.

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* The nipātana sūtras in the Aṣṭ. are having the important place. So regarding the term nipātana, its usefulness is discussed greatly in the chapter No.III,the following one. So here only the comparison of the sūtras are given.

80. a) Vasu S.C.,Aṣṭ.Op.cit.p.387

b) Śarmā A. op.cit.p.199.

82. Eggling J., Op.cit. p.328.

In CV, the corresponding rule is avadyapaṇyavaryā garhya vikreyā nirodheṣu C.1.1.112. Like S, C has also followed P. The author has neither added anything nor even changed. It is clear from the vṛtti of the sūtra , Cf. the vṛtti, "avadyamiti nipātyate garhye'rthe anudyamanyat, paṇyamitinipātyate vikreye'rthe pānyamanyat varyetyanirodhe gamyamāne. vṛtyānyā. strīliṅganirdeśādiha na bhavati vāryā ṛtvijaḥ "[82]

In JV, the corresponding rule is paṇyā'vadyavaryā vahyā'ryopasaryā'jaryāṇi D.2.1.88. This rule corresponds to five rules of Aṣṭ. i.e. from P.3.1.101 to P.3.1.105 are the nipātana sūtras. So Ø, has put all these nipātana sūtras in one sūtra. The author has followed P so far as all these five sūtras i.e. from P.3.1.101 to P.3.1.105 are concerned, as it is known from the vṛtti , Cf. the vṛtti, paṇya avadya varyā, vahya arya upasaryā ajaryaṁ ityetāni śabdarūpāṇi nipātyante paṇyamiti nipātyate vyavahartavyaṁ cedbhavati paṇyaḥ kambalaḥ paṇyā gau. pānyamityanyatra avadyaṁ bhavati garhyaṁ cet. avadyaṁ dyutam avadyam pāpam. na udyate ito'yanudyamanyat varyeti vṛṇo yo bhavatynirodhe'rthe sahasreṇa varyā strīliṅgādanyatra ṇya eva bhavati vāryā ṛṣayaḥ dhanasam vibhāga rupo'trāpyanirodho'sti anirodha iti kim ? vāryā gau śasyeṣu. vahyamiti nipātyate karaṇaṁ cedbhavati.

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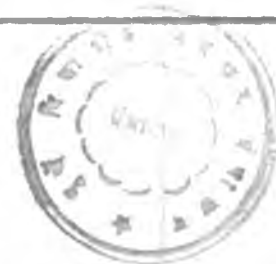
82. Chatterji, K.C. op.cit. P.41.



vahati tena vahyaṁ śakaṭam , vāhyamanyat·arya iti nipātyate svāmini vaiśye ca. aryaḥ svāmi aryo vaiśyaḥ , anyatra ṇya eva. ārya sādhu. upasaryeti nipātyate kālyā prajane cet prajanogarbhagrahaṇakālaḥ ,upasaryā gau upasaryā vadavā. upasāryā śaradi mathurā anyatra. ajaryamiti nañpūrvājiṛṣaḥ kartari yo nipātyate sangate'rthe na jīryata atyajaryamarthasaṅgatam. ajaritā kambala ityanyatra."[83]

The meaning of the word avadya in this grammar is in the sense of the garhya, as it is in Aṣṭ. The examples of the vṛtti quoted above are pāpa and dyuta. Where as pāpa is given as the example by P. However, avadya means dyuta is not mentioned in Aṣṭ. From this it is obvious that by the time of D, the author dyuta krīḍā was hated by the society. The important fact is to be mentioned is that, the author is the pātronage of Jainism, in which, we get the cannon preached by the Jaina Tirthaṅkars not to play the dice. So the author might be influenced by the preaching of these Jaina saints and given the example as avadyaṁ dyutam.

In śV , the corresponding rule is paṇo'pasṛvravadādvikreya tumartyu peyāgarhye. ś. 4.3.72. The rule corresponds to P's two sūtras i.e. P.3.1.101 and P.3.1.104. The sūtra says the roots like paṇ, apasṛ, vṛ and avada will take the yaT suffix, when there will be no upasarga precedes and when these mean vikreya, ṛtumatī, upeyā and garhya respectively. Cf.the

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83. Tripāthy śś .N. JV, Op.cit. p.98.

vṛtti, "paṇa apasṛ vṛ avada ityetebhyo'nupasargebhyo ya pratyayo bhavati yathāsaṅkhyaṁ vikreyartumtyupeyāgarhyesvartheṣu. paṇya kambalaṁpaṇya gauḥ vikreya ityarthaḥ upasaryā gauḥ upasaryā vaḍavā. ṛtumatī kālyā prajana ityarthaḥ śatena varyā strī. sahasreṇa varyā strī. upeyā saṁbhaktavyā mīśrī kartavyetyarthaḥ avadyaṁ pāpaṁ. avadyā hiṁsā garhyetyarthaḥ avadeti nañpūrvasya vadenirdeśaḥ vikreyartumatyupeyāgarhyeti kim ? pāṇyaḥ sādhuḥ upasaryā śaradi mathura vṛtyā gau. anudyā janavārtāḥ , avadyā iti nirūpapādāt. ghyaṇi paścānnañ samāse bhavati . upeyeti strīliṅganirdeśādiha na bhavati vāryā ṛtvicaḥ vṛdi eṣa ghyaṇ vṛtyeti vṛñaḥ kyaP [84] ".

The most important point is Ś however, has not derived the above forms by nipātana but he has accepted the the reular for-mative procedure to explain these forms. According to him the forms get the suffix yaT. Thus paṇ +yaT = paṇya etc. In this case thus Ś has tried to go away from P and strike a new note all together.

Apart from this, the meaning of varyā is anirodhaḥ as stated in Kāśikā and Aṣṭ but here the meaning is upeyā. Although these two words upeyā and anirodha seem to be different, these two are semantically identical .

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84. Tripāthy S.N. ,ŚV, Op. cit. pp.393-394.

In Sk, the corresponding rule is avadyapaṇyavaryā garhyavikreyānirodhesu Bh.1.3.143. From the commentary of the sūtra it is obvious that Bh. has followed P. so far as this rule is concerned. Cf. the vṛtti, "avadyapaṇyavaryā ityete śabdāḥ yat pratyayāntāntāḥ yathā saṁkhyaṁ garhyavikreyānirodhetyeteṣvartheṣu nīpātyante . avadyaṁ bhavati garhyaṁ cet anudyamanyat paṇyaṁ bhavati vikreyaṁ cet. pāṇyamanyat varyā bhavatyanirodhaścet. śatena varyā kanyā vṛtyānyā. strīliṅganirdeśādanirodho'pi vārya ṛtvijaḥ ".[85]

The corresponding rule in HS is varyopasaryāvadyapaṇyamupeyartumati garhyā vikreya, H.5.1.32. Like ŚV, the author given the rule which corresponds to P's two rule i.e. P.3.1.101 and P.3.1.104. Not only this but if we examine both of the sūtra from both of the grammar, i.e. ŚV and HS we can very well pass the remark, that H has followed some of the wording of Ś. As for example the meaning of varyā is given as upeya in ŚV, here also the author has given the meaning of varyā as upeyā. So far as the meaning of the rule is concerned, the author has followed P, as it is known from the vṛtti Cf. the vṛtti varyā dayaḥ śabdā upeyādiṣu varthesu yathāsaṁkhyaṁ yāntā nipātyante".[86]

In ŚV, the corresponding sūtra is not available.

In MV, the corresponding sūtra is panyāvadyavaryyā cāryyavahyvajavyakṣayyakravyāyyorpasaryyājaryyam V.980. This

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85. Śāstrī K.S.,Op.cit.p.123.

86. HS, op.cit. pp.335-336.

sūtra corresponds to five sūtras from Aṣṭ . i.e. from P.3.1.101 to P.3.1.105, like JV of D. In all of these sūtras the author has followed P as it is known from the vṛtti, Cf. the vṛtti, "ete yāntā nipātyante avadyaṁ aniṣṭaṁ varyyā kanyā varyyaṁ áreṣṭhaṁ ācāryo guru, uhyate'neneti vahyaṁ śakaṭaṁ jetuṁ śakyaṁ jayyaṁ, evaṁ kṣayyaṁ . krayyaṁ haṭṭe prasāritaṁ aryyaḥ svāmī vaiśyo vā. upasrīyate ityupasaryyā. na jīryyati iti ajaryyaṁ saṅgataṁ " [87]

In Jmv, the corresponding sūtra is paṇivahibhyāḥ vikrayakaraṇayoḥ J.180. The sūtra corresponds to P's two rule, i.e. this discussed one and the following one. In this rule the author has only given the word paṇya and nothing is mentioned for the other two words avadya and varyā. From this point of view the sūtra seems to be incomplete. The author has not followed P. so far as this rule is concerned. Because P has derived the words paṇya and vahya by nipātana , where J has given the formative regular procedure for these two words, as it is known from the vṛtti. Cf. the vṛtti, "Paṇ vah dhātubhyāṁ uttare vikraya karaṇārtheśca yaṄ bhavati paṇyaṁ ghṛtaṁ. vahyaṁ śakaṭaṁ. anyathā pāṇyaṁ (ṣtotavyaṁ) vāhyaṁ (vahanīyaṁ). [88]

Like Ś, the author has derived these forms in regular formative procedure. He has not derived these forms by the

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87. Bhaṭṭācārya , J.V. Op.cit. P.732.

88. Rath C.S., Op.cit.p.437.

procedure called nipātana. So J, has differed from P and followed Ś, so far as this rule is concerned.

vahyaṁ	karaṇaṁ	P.3.1.102.
vahyaṁ	karaṇe	S.4.2.16.
vahyaṁ	karaṇaṁ	C.1.1.113.
panyā'vadya varyāvahyā'ryopasaryā'jaryāni		D.2.1.88
vahyaṁ karaṇaṁ		Bh. 1.3.144.
vahyaṁ	karaṇe	H.5.1.34.
panyāvadya varyācaryavahyajayyakṣayyakrayyayyorpasar-yājaryyaṁ.		V.980
panivahibhyāḥ	vikrayakaraṇayoḥ	J.180.

The meaning of the sūtra is, the word vahya is irregularly formed, when the meaning of the word is an instrument of carrying. The vṛtti of the sūtra is,[89] "vaherdhātoḥ karaṇe yaT pratyayo nipātyate ". The example is vahyaṁ śakaṭaṁ. If the karaṇa will not be there, then ṆyaT suffix will be applied and the form would be vāhyaṁ.

The corresponding sūtra in KV is vahyaṁ karaṇe S.4.2.16. In this rule the author has followed P, as it is known from the vṛtti. Cf. the vṛtti, "vahyamiti nipātyate karaṇe'rthe vahyaṁ śakaṭaṁ vāhyamanyat".[90]

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89. a) Vasu S.C. Aṣṭ.Op.cit.P.387
    b) Śarmā A., Op.cit.p.199

90. Eggling J., Op.cit.p.328.

In CV, the corresponding sūtra is vahyaṁ karaṇam C.1.1.113. The author has followed P in this sūtra as it is know from the vṛtti. Cf. the vṛtti "vahyamiti nipātyate karaṇecet "[91]

In JV, the corresponding sūtra is paṇyāvadyavaryā-vahyā'ryopasaryā'jaryāṇi D.2.1.88. The author said that the word vahya is irregularly formed when it means the karaṇa sense. The author has followed P. so far as the vṛtti[92] is concerned.

In ŚV the corresponding sūtra is not available.

In SK, the corresponding rule is vahyaṁ karaṇam Bh.1.3.144. The vṛtti is, "vahyamiti vaheryannipātyate karaṇam ced bhavati. vahantyaneneti vahyaṁ śakaṭam. vāhyamanyat."[93]

In HS, the corresponding rule is vahyaṁ karaṇe H.5.1.34. In this rule the author has followed P, as it is known from the vṛtti. Cf. the vṛtti "vaheḥ karaṇe yo nipātyate. vahanti teneti vahyaṁ śakaṭam.vāhyamaṇyat".[94]

In SV, the corresponding sūtra is not available.

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91. Chatterji K.C., Op.cit.P.42

92. For the vṛtti see the foot note No.82.

93. Śāstrī,K.S. Op.cit.p.123.

94. HS, Op.cit.p.336.

In MV, the corresponding sūtra is panyāvadyavaryācārya vahyayajayya ksayyakrayyāyyorpasaryājaryyam. This rule corresponds to five rules of P's grammar. In the vṛtti it is mentioned that by which, something is carried is called vahyam.[95] The word is formed by nipātana. So the author has followed P.

In Jmv the corresponding rule is panivahibhyāḥ vikrayakaraṇayoḥ J.180. In this rule the author has not followed P. Because P has formed this rule by the procedure called nipātana, where as J has formed this form by the regular formative procedure. J has directly applied the suffix yaṄ to the root vah. In this way the author has differed from P. This is know from the vṛtti, which is given in the discussion of previous rule.[96]

aryaḥ svāmī vaiśyayoḥ	P.3.1.103
aryaḥ svāmīvaiśyayoḥ	S.4.2.17
aryaḥ svāmīvaiśyayoḥ	C.1.1.114.
panya'vadyavaryāvahyā'ryopasaryā'-jaryāni	D.2.1.88.
svāmīvaiśye'rteḥ	Ś.4.3.73.
aryasvāmīvaiśyayoḥ	Bh. 1.3.145
svāmivaśye'ryaḥ	H.5.1.33
panyāvaddvayaryyācāryyavahyyajayyakṣayyakrayyā-yyorpasaryyājaryyam	V.980.
svāmīvaiśyoraṛtteḥ	J.181

The rule aryasvāmīvaiśyayoḥ P.3.1.103 means that

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95. For the vṛtti see the foot note No.87.
96. For the vṛtti see the foot note No.88.

the form arya is irregularly formed in the sense of svāmī i.e. lord and vaiśya i.e. acaste. To distinguish both the words arya as vaiśya and arya as svāmī, different accents are given. When arya means svāmi it gets accent on the last syllable - as aryá and when it means vaiśya[97], it gets the accent on the first syllable - as árya. When the form will not mean svāmi or vaiśya, the ṆyaT suffix will be applied and the available form will be ārya, which means brahmin. Cf. the vṛtti, "ṛgatau asmānṇyati prāpte, svāmivaisyayorabhidheyayoryatpratyayo nipātyate'.[98]

In KV, the corresponding sūtra is aryaḥ svāmivaiśyayoḥ S.4.2.17. The author has followed P in this sūtra. He has neither added anything nor made any change, as it is known from the vṛtti. Cf. the vṛtti, "aryaiti nipātyate svāmini vaiśyecārthe. aryaḥ svāmī aryo vaiśyaḥ āryo anyaḥ "[99] The two different accents for the different meaning of arya is not mentioned by the author. Because the author has not dealt with accent.

In CV, the corresponding rule is aryaḥ svāmivaiśyayoḥ C.1.1.114. Like S, C has followed P and has not given the

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97. For the different accent of the word arya cf. the vārttika, "yato'nava ityādyudāttatve prapte, svāminyantodāttatvam ca vaktavyam". Vasu, S.C. Aṣṭ, Op.cit.p.387.

98. a) Ibid. b) Śarmā A., Op.cit.p.199.

99. Eggling J., Op.cit.p.436.

different accent for the different meaning of the word arya, as it is known from the vṛtti, cf. the vṛtti, "arya iti nipātyate svāmini vaiśye ca ".[100]

In JV, the corresponding sūtra is panyavadyavaryā-vahyā'ryopasaryā'jaryāṇi D.2.1.88. The author has followed P. so far as this rule is concerned, as it is known from the vṛtti.[101] The sūtra says that the word arya is irregularly formed when it means svāmī and vaiśya.

In ŚV , the corresponding sūtra is svāmī vaiśye'ṛteḥ In this sūtra, the author has not followed P. Because the author has formed the word arya by the regular formative procedure, where as it is derived by nipātana in paninian procedure. So, Ś has gone away from the paninian path. The sūtra says that the word arya will take ya suffix, when it means vaiśya or svāmī and when not preceded by any upasarga. Cf. the vṛtti, "svāmini vaiśye cā bhidheye ṛ gatāvityetasmādanupasargādyaḥ pratyayo bhavati aryo vaiśyaḥ . svāmi vaiśya iti kim? āryo devadattaḥ "[102]

So far as the meaning of the sūtra is concerned both P and Ś are same but they have adopted different way all together for arriving at the form.

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100. Chatterji K.C., Op.cit.p.42.

101. For the vṛtti see the foot note No.83

102. Tripāthy Ś.N. ŚV Op.cit.p.394.

The corresponding sūtra in SK is, aryaḥ svāmivaiśyayoḥ Bh. 1.3.145. In this sūtra the author has followed P, as it is clearly known from the vṛtti. Cf. the vṛtti " arya ityarteryannipātyate svāmivaiśyayorarthayoḥ aryaḥ svāmī-aryo vaiśyaḥ . svāmivaiśyayoritikim. āryaḥ ".[103]

In HS, the corresponding rule is svāmivaiśyeryaḥ H.5.1.33. H has followed P in this sūtra as it is known from the vṛtti. Cf. the vṛtti,"arteḥ svāmini vaiśye cābhidheye yo nipātyate aryaḥ svāmī. aryo vaiśyaḥ svāmivaiśya iti kim ? āryaḥ ".[104]

In SV, the corresponding sūtra is not available.

The corresponding sūtra in MV is, paṇyāvadya varyyācāryyavahyyajayyakṣayyakrayyāyyorpasaryyājaryyam. V.980. In the vṛtti, the author has only mentioned that arya means vaiśya or svāmī . Apart from this no explanation is given. From the vṛtti[105] it is known that author has followed P in this sūtra.

In Jmv, the corresponding sūtra is svāmīvaiśyoarṭṭeḥ J.181. In this sūtra the author has followed Ś and not

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103. Śāstrī K.S., Op.cit. P.123.

104. HS, Op.cit. p.336

105. For vṛttā see the foot note No.87.

to P. Like Ś, he has derived the form in the regular procedure. The sūtra means that in the sense of vaiśya and svāmī , the yaÑ suffix will be applied to the root ṛ Cf. the vṛtti "svāmī vaiśyayorthayoḥ ṛ dhātoḥ yaṅ pratyaya bhavati, aryaḥ svāmī vaisyaśca anyatra āryaḥ viprah, atra ṇya".[106]

From P, the author differs so far as the derivation of the form is concerned. Both of them have followed the different way. J. has given the derivation of the form in the regular procedure i.e. ṛ + ya (Ñ) as arya, where as arya, the same form is derived by nipātana in P's grammar.

So far as the accent of the form arya in concerned, only P suceeds. The accent here only decides the different meaning of the word arya. When accent differs, the meaning also differs, as we have discussed earlier. So it would have been better had the post-paninian grammarians mentioned the accent, but they have not done so. So from this point of view it is obvious that, they were ignorant of the accent system.

upasaryākālyāprajane	P.3.1.104.
upasaryākālyāprajane	S.4.2.18
ṛtumatyupasaryā	C.1.1.115
panyā'vadya varyāvahyā'ryopasaryā'jaryāṇi	D.2.1.88.

106. Rath C.S., Op.cit.p.437.

paṇo'pasaryravadādvikreyaturmatyupeyāgarhye Ś.4.3.72.

upasaryākālyā prajane Bh. 1.3.146

varyopasaryāvadya paṇyamupeyartumati garhyavikreye H.5.1.32.

paṇyāvadya varyyācāryya vahyyajayyakṣayya krayyāyyor-pasaryyājaryyam. V.980.

The rule upasaryākālyāprajane means that the word upasaryā is irregularly formed in the sense of prajana i.e. what has reached the time favourable to conception or ripe for fruition. The meaning of kālyā is prāptakāla i.e. arrived at the proper time. The word prajana means the first conception or prathama garbha grahaṇa . The vṛtti of the sūtra is " upasaryeti nipātyate kālyā cet prajane bhavati".[107] When the word upasaryā will not mean the above, ṆyaT will be applied and the form will be upasāryā.

In KV, the corresponding sūtra is upasaryākālyāprajane S.4.2.18. The author has followed so far as this rule is concerned, as it is known from the vṛtti. Cf. the vṛtti., "prāptaḥ kālaḥ yasyāḥ sā kālyetisaṁjñitā. prajanaṁ prajano garbhagrahaṇam, prajane prāptākālā cet upasaryeti nipātyate upasriyata iti upasaryā gauḥ ṛtumatyerthaḥ upasāryā'nyaḥ ".[108] In the vṛtti each and every word is clearly mentioned.

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107. a) Vasu S.C., Aṣṭ. op.cit. p.388
b) Śarmā A., Op.cit. p.199.

108. Eggling J, Op. cit.pp.318-319

In CV, the corresponding rule is ṛtumatyupasaryā C.1.1.115. In this rule the author has followed P as it is known from the vṛtti. Cf. the vṛtti, "upasaryeti nipātyate ṛtumati cet upasaryā'nyā "[109]

In JV, the corresponding rule is panyā'vadyavaryāvahyā'ryopasaryā'jaryāṇi D.2.1.88. This rule corresponds to five rules of P, as it is told earlier. The author has followed P in this rule as it is known from the vṛtti.[110] According to him, the word upasaryā is irregularly formed in the sense of what has reached the time favourable to conception. The author had neither added anything new nor made any change.

In ŚV the corresponding rule is paṇo'pasṛvravadādvikreyatumartyupeyā-garhye. Ś.4.3.72. Here the author has not followed P like in the previous nipātana sūtras . The above form upasaryā is derived in the regular procedure i.e. from the root sṛ having the upa upasarga and by the addition of ya suffix - upa + sṛ+ ya. In the vṛtti he has mentioned it clearly.[111]

In SK, the corresponding rule is upasaryākālyāprajane Bh. 1.3.146. The author has followed P in this sūtra, as it is known from the vṛtti Cf. the vṛtti, "upasaryetyupapūrvāt sarteryannipātyate prajane garbhagrahaṇe cet prāptākālā bhavati".[112]

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109. Chatterji, K.C., Op.cit. p.42.

110. For the vṛtti see the foot note No.83

111. For the vṛtti see the foot note No.84

112. Śāstrī K.S., Op.cit. p.123.

In HS, the corresponding rule is varyopasaryāvadyapanyamupeyartumatigarhyevikraye. H.5.1.32. This rule corresponds to two rules of P i.e. P.3.1.101 and P.3.1.104,. The author has followed p so far as the meaning and formation ef the form upasaryā is concerned, as it is known from the vṛtti.[113]

In SV, the corresponding rule is not available.

The corresponding rule in MV is panyāvadya varyyācāryya vahyyajayya kṣayya krayyāyyorpasaryyājaryyam V.980. It is the rule which corresponds to five rules of Aṣṭ. The author has not described the forms in detail. We do not get any clear explanation of the word, only it is meantioned "upasrīyate ityupasaryā". But the meaning and the formation of the form upasaryā is same in both of the grammars, as it is known from the vṛtti.[114]

In Jmv. the corresponding rule isn not available.

ajaryaṁ saṅgataṁ	P.3.1.105.
ajarya saṁgate ca	S.4.2.19.
ajaryaṁ saṅgataṁ	C.1.1.116.
panyā'vadyavaryā vahyā'ryopasaryā'jaryāni	D.2.1.88.
saṅgate'jaryaṁ	Ś.4.3.47

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113. For the vṛtti see the foot note No.88.

114. For the vṛtti see the foot note No.87

kartaryajaṁrya saṅgate Bh.1.3.147.

saṁgate'jaryam H.5.1.5.

panyā'vadyya varyyācāryya vahyajayyakṣayyakrayyāyyor-pasaryyājaryyam. V.980.

The meaning of the rule ajaryam saṅgatam is the word ajaryaṁ is irregularly formed from the root jṛ having the negative practicle a before it and by the addition of suffix yaT, when it means saṅgata i.e, friendship. If the word ajaryam will not mean the above meaning i.e. friendship then the form will be ajaritā. The vṛtti of the sūtra is, "ajaryamiti nipātyate saṁgatam cedbhavati".[115]

The corresponding sūtra of KV is ajarya saṁgate ca S.4.2.19. So far as this rule is concerned, the same view is stated by the author as it is found in Aṣṭ. In the vṛtti it is said, "ajaryamiti nipātyate saṁgate kartari"[116] From the vṛtti it is confirmed that the author has followed P.

In CV, the corresponding rule is ajaryaṁ saṅgatam C.1.1.116. From the vṛtti of the sūtra it is clear that the author has followed P. cf. the vṛtti, "ajaryamiti kartari nipātyate saṅgatam cet".[117]

In JV, the corresponding rule is panyā'vadyavaryāvanyā'ryopasaryā'jaryāṇi D.2.1.88.
From the vṛtti,[118] it is obvious that the author has followed P.

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115. a) Vasu S.C., Aṣṭ.Op.cit. p.388.
b) Śarmā A., Op.cit.p.199

116. Eggling J, Op.cit.p.329. 117. Chatterji K.C.,op.cit.p.42
118. For vṛtti indetail see the foot note No.83

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In ŚV the corresponding rule is saṅgate'jaryam Ś.4.3. 47. In this rule the author differs from P and all other post paninian grammarians. Not only this he disagrees with P in this rule like all other nipātana sūtras . P has derived the form ajaryam by nipātana where as the author Ś, has derived it by regular formative procedure. As a + jṛ + ya (= ajaryam). From this it is obvious that the author has adopted a new line alltogether. This statement is very well proved by the vṛtti. cf. the vṛtti, " saṅgamanam saṅgatam tasmin kartari ajaryaṁ bhavatīti veditavyam. ataeva vacanānañ pūrvājjīryateryaḥ pratyayo vijñāyate. ajaryaṁ saṅgatam ajarya no'stu saṅgataṁ ajaraḥ pattaḥ . ajaritā kambalaḥ akartarīti kim ? ajaryam saṅgatena.[119]

In ŚK, the corresponding sūtra is kartar yajaṁrya saṅgate Bh.1.3.147. The author has followed P so far as the derivative procedure is concerned and meaning is concerned, as it is obvious from the vṛtti. Cf. the vṛtti, "nañpūrvāt jīryateḥ saṅgate kartari yannipātyate. na jiryatītyajaryamāryasaṅgatam. saṅgata iti kim? ajaritā kambalaḥ "[120]

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In HS, the corresponding rule is saṁgate'ajaryam H.5.1.5. The author has followed P., so far as the derivative procedure and meaning is concerned , as it is known from the

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119. Tripāthy Ś.N. ŚV Op.cit. p.390

120. Śāstrī K.S., Op.cit. p.124.

vṛtti Cf. the vṛtti, " saṁgamanaṁ saṁgatam, tasminkartarybhidheye nañpūrvājjiryeterya pratyayo nipātyate no jiryatīti ajaryam āryasaṁgatam etc.[121]

In SV, we find a line under the rule svarādya which corresponds to this discussed rule. The line is "ajaryamiti nipātyate na jīryatītyajryaṁ saṁgatam "[122] Although we do not get any clear explanation of the sūtra, it is obvious that as the author mentions the form ajaryam as a nipātita form, he follows P.

The corresponding rule in MV is paṇyā'vadyavaryyācāryyo vahyajayya kaṇayya krayyāyyorpasaryyājaryyam V.980. The author has followed P, so far as the vṛtti[123] of the sūtra is concerned. This rule corresponds to five rules of Aṣṭ. The author has not explained the vṛtti in detail, still as he mentioned that in the vṛtti that the forms will be formed by nipātana, it is obvious that he has followed P.

In Jmv, the corresponding rule is not available.

vadaḥ supi kyaP ca.	P.3.1.106.
nāmni vadaḥ kyaP ca	S.4.2.20
vadaḥ supaḥ kyaP ca	C.1.1.117.

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121. HS, Op.cit. p.331.

122. Kudāl, Ś, Op.cit.p.451

123. For vṛtti , see the foot note No.87.

vadaḥ supi kyaP ca	D.2.1.89
vadaḥ supaḥ kyaP ca	Ś.4.3.74
vadaḥ supi kyaP ca	Bh. 1.3.148.
nāmno vadaḥ kyaP ca	H.5.1.35.
vadeḥ kyaP bhāvādau	A.
lervadaḥ kyaP yau	V.985
supropṛādau vadeḥ kyaśca	J.188

In this rule the application of kyaP suffix is given. The rule says after the root vad, governing a case in flected word as its upapada and not having an upasarga annexed to it, there comes the affix kyaP and yaT also. Cf. the vṛtti, " vaderdhāteḥ suvanta upapade anupasarge kyaP pratyayo bhavati cakārādyacca."[124]

The form will be by kyaP suffix brahma + vad + kyaP = brahmodyam and by the yaT suffix, brahma +vad + yaT = brahmavadyam . If any of the condition lacks in the rule only ṆyaT suffix will be applied. If suvantopada will not present in the sūtra , the ṆyaT suffix will be applied, as we have seen the form vādyam. If the preposition will be there, then also we will get the form formed with ṆyaT suffix, as the form is pravādyam.

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124. a) Vasu S.C., Aṣṭ . Op.cit. p.388.
b) Śarmā A. Op.cit. p.200.

In KV, the corresponding rule is nāmni vadaḥ kyaP ca S.4.2.20. The author has followed P so far as this rule is concerned. From the vṛtti, it is clearly known that the author has followed P. cf. the vṛtti, "nāmnyupapade vadeḥ kyaP bhavati cakārād yaśca brahmaṇaḥ vadanaṁ brahmadyaṁ brahmavadyaṁ brahmaṇo dyate kathā brahmodyā brahmavadyā. nāmniti kiṁ vādyaṁ anuvādyaṁ ". [125] The word anuvādaṁ is given in the vṛtti which is formed by NyaT suffix, when anu upasarga preceeds the root vad. From which it is known that the author has accepted that if preposition preceds the verb takes NyaT instead of kyaP/ and yaT. But he has not mentioned this anupasarga factor clearly neither in the vṛtti nor in the sūtra . Apart from this the author has followed P.

In CV , the corresponding rule is vadaḥ supaḥ kyaP ca C.1.1.117. The author has followed P as it is obvious from the vṛtti. Cf. the vṛtti, "vadateḥ supaḥ kyab bhavati, YaT Ca. brahmodyaṁ, brahmavadyaṁ supa iti kiṁ? vādyaṁ aprāderityeva abhivādyaṁ " [126]

In JV, the corresponding sūtra is vadaḥ supi kyaP ca D.2.1.89. The author has followed P in this sūtra , as it is known from the vṛtti. Cf. the vṛtti,

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125. Eggling J, Op.cit. p.329.

126. Chatterji K.C., Op.cit. p.42-

"agēriti vartate vadateḥ kyabbhavati yaśca ǵivarjite supi vāci satya mudyata iti satyodyam satyavadyam mithvodyam, mithyāvadyam supīti kim ? vādyam agirityeva anuvādyam" [127]

In ŚV, the corresponding sūtra is vadaḥ supaḥ kyaP ca Ś.4.3.74. Like all other grammarians the author has also followed P, as it is clearly known from the vṛtti cf. the vṛtti, "anupasargāt iti vartate, anupasargāt supaḥ parādvadateḥ dhātoḥ kyappratyayo bhavati cakārādyaśca ". brahmodyam brahmavadyam satyodyam satyavadyam supa iti kim ? vādyam anupasargāt iti kim ? pravādyam." [128]

In Sk, the corresponding rule is vadaḥ supi kyaP ca. Bh.1.3.148. The author has followed P, as it is known from the vṛtti , cf. the vṛtti, "vaderdhātoranupasarge subanta upapade bhāvakarmaṇoḥ kyaP pratyayobhavati cakārād yacca brahmodyam brahmavadyam supīti kim vādyam anupasarga iti kim. pravādyam ". [129]

In HS, the corresponding rule is nāmno vadaḥ kyaP ca. H.5.1.35. H has followed P in this sūtra as it is known from the vṛtti, cf. the vṛtti, "anupasargāditi vartate, anupasargānnāmnaḥ parādvadeḥ kyap yaśca pratyayau bhavataḥ brahmodyam brahmavadyam satyodyam . satyavadyam.nāmna

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127. Tripāthy Ś.N. , JV, op. cit. p.98.

128. Tripāthy Ś.N., ŚV,op.cit. p.394.

129. Śāstrī K.S., op. cit. p.124.

iti kim ? vādyam anupasargādityeva pravādyam anuvādyam"[130]

In SV, the corresponding rule is vadeḥ kyaP bhāvādau - A. From the vṛtti it is obvious that the author has followed P. Cf. the vṛtti, vaderdhātoḥ kyaP pratyayo bhavati bhāvādau mṛṣāḥ udyate mṛṣdyam brahmaṇa udyate yā kathā brahmodyā ."[131] This sūtra seems incomplete and devoid of Pāṇini's procedure because neither in the vṛtti nor in the sūtra nothing is given regarding the yaT suffix. But P. has applied both kyaP and yaT suffix at the same time.

In MV, the corresponding sūtra is lervadaḥ kyaP yau V.985. In this rule the author has followed P. But the author has not mentioned the condition anupasarga, which is essential, so from this point of view the sūtra is incomplete, This statement is based on the vṛtti, cf. the vṛtti, " le parād yadaḥ kyaP yau sta dha bhāve brahmaṇā udyate iti brahmodyā, brahmavadyā kathā."[132]

In Jmv, the corresponding rule is supreprādau vadeḥ kyáca . The author has followed P in this sūtra. We have seen all the grammarians including P, in this sūtra , the suffix kyaP is desired suffix and yaT

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130. HS, op. cit. p.336.

131. Kudāl Ś, Op. cit. p.455.

132. Bhattācārya, J.V, Op. cit. p.735.

is added by ca kāra, but in the vṛtti of this sūtra, the opposite statement is stated. cf. the vṛtti, "prādi-varjite suvantopapade sati bhāve karmaṇi ca vācye vaddhātoḥ uttare yaṅ bhavati, kyaśca bhavati.[133] bhāve brahmavadyam brahmodyamnaṅ - vad - avadyam anudyam pradestu pravādyam, anuvādyam".

bhuvo bhāve	P.3.1.107-
bhāve bhuvaḥ	S.4.2.21.
bhuvaḥ	C.1.1.118.
bhuyahatye	D.2.1.90.
hatyābhuyaṁ bhāve	Ś.4.3.75.
bhuvaḥ	Bh.1.3.150.
hatyābhuyam bhāve	H.5.1.36.
bhuvobhāve kyaP	A.
bhu hanaḥ kyaP bhāvenataśca	V.987.
bhuvaḥ karttari ca	J.177

The meaning of the rule is after the root bhū in construction with a case inflected word as its upapada and when used without an upasarga, the suffix kyaP is employed to denote the condition bhāva. The author of kāśikā comments "bhāvagrahaṇam uttarārtham", which means the word bhāva of this rule govers the suceeding rules.

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133. Rath C.S. Op. cit. p.439.

If there will not be a suvanta upapada and if there will be upasarga, only yaT will be applied, as we have seen the forms bhavyam and prabhavyam. The vrtti of the sūtra is,"supyanupasarge ityanuvartate bhavaterdhātoḥ subante upapade'nupasarge bhāve kyaP pratyayo bhavati yat tu nānuvartati supi ityeva, bhavyam anupasarge ityeva, prabhavyam."[134]

In KV, the corresponding sūtra is bhāve bhuvaḥ The author has followed P in this sūtra as it is known from the vrtti. Cf. the vrtti, "nāmnyupapade bhāve bhūvaḥ kyaP bhavati. brahmabhūyaṁ gataḥ brahmatvaṁ gataḥ .[135] nāmniti kim, bhavyam, prabhavyam. bhāvagrahaṁ nāmuttarārtham".

In CV, the corresponding rule is bhuvaḥ so far as the meaning of the rule is concerned, the author has followed P. The only difference is that, the author has not mentioned the word bhāve either in the sūtra or in the vrtti. Cf. the vrtti, bhavateḥ supaḥ parāt kyab bhavati brahmabhuyaṁ gataḥ supa ityeva bhavyam aprādeḥrityeva prabhavyam."[136]

In JV,the corresponding sūtra is bhuva hatye D.2.1.90. This rule corresponds to this and the just following rule. The meaning of the rule is same with that of

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134. a) Vasu S.C., Aṣṭ. Op.cit. p.388.
b) Śarmā A. op. cit. p.200

135. Eggling J, Op. cit. p.329.

136. Chatterji K.C., Op.cit. p.43.

P. But the most notable point is that, D has not followed P, so far as the derivation of the forms bhūya and hatya are concerned. P and all other grammarians have derived the forms in the regular formative procedure i.e. brahmat bhu + yaT = brahmabhūyaṁ . But D has derived these forms by nipātana, as it is known from the vṛtti. Cf. the vṛtti, " supyageriti vartate, bhūya hatya ityete śabdarūpe nipātyate givarjite supi vāci devabhūyaṁ gataḥ devatvaṁ gata ityarthaḥ sādi hubhūvaṁ gataḥ kyabatra nipātyate. daridrahananaṁ daridrahatyā. corahatyā hanteḥ strīliṅga bhāve kyabnīpātyate supītyeva bhavyam ghāto vartate agerityeva prabhavyamupaghātoḥ "[137]

This above discussion proves that D has differed from P and adopted a new line all together. The corresponding rule in ŚV is hatyābhuyam bhāve Ś.4.3.75. The rule says that the form hatyā and bhūya will be formed irregularly by kyaP suffix, when there will be subanta upapada and having no upasarga before the verb bhu and han. Cf. the vṛtti, "anupasargāt subantāt paraṁ hatyā bhuya ityetad bhāve kyabantaṁ nipātyate hatyeti hanteḥ strībhāve kyaP takāraścāntādeśaḥ bratmahatyā bhrunahatyā . daridrahatyā . aśvahatyā. bhūyeti bhavaternapuṁsake bhāve kyaP brahmabhuyaṁ gataḥ devabhūyaṁ gataḥ brahmatvaṁ devatvamityarthaḥ bhāva iti kim ? śvaghātyā vṛṣali, supa iti kim ? hati vartate. anupasargāt iti kim ? upahantivartate ".[138] From the vṛtti

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137. Tripāthy Ś.N, JV. Op.cit. p.98.

138. Tripāthy Ś.N. ŚV , Op.cit. p.394.

it is obvious that Ś has not followed P. P has derived the form in the regular process, whereas Ś and D derived these forms by nipātana. So in this rule Ś has followed D.

The corresponding sūtra in SK is bhūvaḥ Bh.1.3.150. The author has followed P in this rule as it is known from the vṛtti. Cf. the vṛtti, "bhavateḥ supyanupasarga upapade kyaP bhavati brahmabhūyam devabhūyam. supīti kim. bhavyam anupasarga iti kim. prabhavyam bhuvo'nupasargasyākarmakakarmakatvāt bhāva evodāhriyate "[139]

The corresponding rule in HS is hatyā bhūyam bhāve Like JV and ŚV this rule also corresponds to two rules of Aṣṭ. This and the coming one. Like D and Ś, the author has taken these two forms i.e. hatyā and bhūya as the nipātita forms. P has derived these forms in regular process where as the author, H like D and Ś has derived the forms by the nipātana, as it is known from the vṛtti. Cf. the vṛtti, "anupasargānnāmnaḥ parau hatyā bhūya ityetau bhāve kyabntau nipātyete".[140] H has followed D and Ś in this rule but not to P.

In SV, the corresponding rule is bhuvo bhāve kyaP. The author has followed P, as it is known from the vṛtti. Cf. the vṛtti , "nāmni upapade bhuvo bhāve kyaP pratyayo bhavati brahmaṇaḥ bhāvaḥ brahmabhūyaṁ gataḥ "[141]

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139. Śāstrī K.S, Op.cit. p.124.

140. HS, op.cit.p.336.

141. Kudāl Ś, Op.cit. p.455.

In MV , the corresponding rule is bhu hanaḥ kyaP, V.987 . In this rule, the author has followed P as it is known from the vṛtti . Cf. the vṛtti, " le parābhyaṁ ābhyāṁ kyaP syāt bhāve hanonasya taśca brahma bhūyaṁ brahmatvaṁ brahmahatyā "[142]

The corresponding rule in Jmv is bhūvaḥ kartari ca J.177. The author differs from P in this rule. Here the author says that, after the root bhu, yaṄ suffix will be applied in bhāva and karttari sense . Where as P has applied kyaP suffix and that to only in bhāva sense and never in kartari sense. So from this point the author differs from P. The above statement is based on the vṛtti. cf. the vṛtti, " bhūdhātoḥ uttare bhāve kartari ca vācye yaṅ bhavati bhuyate iti bhavyaṁ anena bhavatāti bhavyaḥ"[143] The way they have accepted is different. Neither subanta upapada nor anupasarga factor is mentioned by the author either in the vṛtti or in the sūtra . J has mentioned that in bhāve and karttari sense, yaṅ will be added to the root bhu. So it seems by the time of J, in karttari sense also the form was used. J differs from P in meaning also.

Strictly speaking this cannot be a corresponding sūtra, because the forms which it explains is bhavya only and does not even mention the form bhūya , which is given by P. But it is corresponding to P because it implicitly

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142. Bhaṭṭācārya J.V., Op.cit.p.735.

143. Rath C.S., Op.cit. p.437.

explain the form bhūya while P explicitly explains the form bhūya.

hanasta Ca	P.3.1.108
hanasta ca	C.4.2.20
bhāve hanasta ca	C.1.1.119
bhuya hatve	D.2.1.90.
hatyā bhuyam bhāve	Ś.4.3.75.
bhāve hanasta ca	Bh. 1.3.151
hatyā bhūyam bhāve	H.5.1.36
bhu hanaḥ kyaP bhāve nataśca	V.987.

This rule and the previous rule are same, so far as their application is concerned. So thats why some of the post-paninian grammarians have combined both of the rules and mede it one. The rule says that, the root han, coming after subanta upapada and having no upasarga before it, takes the kyaP suffix in bhāve sense. cf. the vṛtti, " supyanupasarge iti vartate bhāva iti ca han terdhātoḥ subanta upapade'nupasarge bhāve kyaP pratyayo bhavati takāraścāntādeśaḥ brahmahatyā, aśvahatyā. supi ityeva, ghātaḥ ṇyat tu bhāve na bhavatyanabhidhānāt anupasarge ityeva, praghāto vartate ".[144]

brahmahatyā = brahma + han + kyaP

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144. a) Vasu S.C. Aṣṭā. Op.cit.p.389.

b) Śarmā A, Op.cit. p.200.

In KV, the corresponding rule is hanasta ca . The author has followed P in this rule, as it is known from the vṛtti. Cf. the vṛtti "nāmnyupapade hanter bhāve kyaP bhavati takārasścāntādeśah brahmaṇo hananam brahmahatyā. bhāve iti kim śvaghātyo mṛgah namnnīti kim ghātah, upaghātah ".[145]

In CV, the corresponding rule is bhāve hanasta ca . The author has given the more importance to the word bhāve., in this rule. The sūtra says after subanta upapada the kyaP suffix will be added to the root han in bhāve sense, when the upasarga does not preceds. As for example brahmahatyā. If bhāva sense would not be there, the ṆyaT suffix will be applied. cf. the vṛtti , " hanteh supa parād bhāve kyab bhavati, takārasścāntādeśah , brahmahatyā bhāve iti kim ? śvaghātya . supa ityeva ghāto vartate apsaderityeva upaghātah Ṇyadapinabhavati vahulādhikārāt "[146] From the vṛtti, it is know that the author has followed P.

In JV, the corresponding rule is bhūya hatye D.2.1.90. The author has derived the form brahmahatyā by nipātana, as it is known from the vṛtti.[147] P has derived this form in the regular formative procedure. So in this rulethe author has not followed P. This rule corresponds

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145. Eggling J, Op.cit. p.329.

146. Chatterji K.C., Op.cit. p.43.

147. For vṛtti see the foot note No.137.

to P's two rule this and the previous one.

In ŚV, the corresponding rule is hatyābhūyam bhāve. Like D, the author has derived the form brahmahatyā by nipātana, as it is known from the vṛtti.[148] But P has derived in regular procedure. So the author has followed D. This rule corresponds to the previous sūtra as well as the present sūtra.

In SK, the corresponding rules is bhāve hanasta ca. The author has followed P in this sūtra. But like C, he has used the word bhāve in this sūtra but not in the previous sūtra. The bhāve sense plays animportant role in the sūtra. The sūtra says the root han takes kyaP in bhāve sense when subanta upapada preceds and having no upasarga. Cf. the vṛtti, "hanteḥ supyanupasarge upapade bhāve kyaP bhavati takāraścāntādeśaḥ brahmano vadhaḥ brahmahatyā bhāva iti kim, ghanaghātyam."[149] So if there will be no bhāve sense, the ṆyaT suffix will be applied. The author has followed P in this rule.

In HS, the corresponding rule is hatyā bhūyam bhāve. This rule corresponds to two rules of P, i.e. this present and the previous one. Here the author has taken the form as nipātita one and explain it by nipātana, as it is

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148. For vṛtti see the foot Note No.138.

149. Śāstrī K.S., Op.cit. p.124.

known from the vṛtti.[150] In this rule the author has not followed P but D and Ś. Because P has derived the form in regular formative procedure.

In SV, the corresponding sūtra is not available.

The corresponding sūtra in MV is bhu hanaḥ kyaP bhāve na taśca . This rule corresponds to P's this and the previous rule. The author has followed P as it is known from the vṛtti.[151]

In Jmv, the corresponding rule is not available.

etistuśāsvṛdṛjuṣaḥ kyaP	P.3.1.109.
vṛñdṛjuṣinśāsustu grahāṃ kyaP	S.4.2.23.
inṣtuśāsuvṛñdṛjuṣaḥ	C.1.1.120.
stuśāsinvṛdṛjuṣaḥ kyaP	D.2.1.91.
śāsvṛjadṛjuṣaḥ stvetyṛdupāntyādanṛc-kḷupiṛteḥ	Ś.4.3.79.
inṣtuśāsuvṛñdṛjusibhyaḥ	Bh. 1.3.152
dṛbhṛiṣtujuṣetiśāsaḥ	H.5.1.40
inṣtuvṛdṛbhṛśāsjuṣkhanebhyaḥ kyaprācyaḥ	A
bhṛjusitram	V.981
inśāsujuṣidṛnvṛñpunaḥ	J.194.

The rule says that after the verb i, stu, śās vṛ, dṛ and juṣ, the kyaP suffix is applied. The forms

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150. For vṛtti see the foot note No.140.
151. For vṛtti see the foot note No.142.

are like ityа, stutyа, śiṣyа, vṛtyа, ādṛtyа (having "ān" as upasarga) and juṣyа are available respectively.

In the rule the root vṛ means vṛñ but not vṛṅ, because from the root vṛṅ, NyaT suffix is applied and we get the form vāryа. cf. the vṛtti, "eti stu śās vṛ dṛ juṣaḥ ityе tebhyaḥ kyaP pratyayo bhavati ".[152]

Apart from this we get two vārttikas under this rule.

1) śaṁsiduhiguhibhyo veti vaktavyam.

2) ānpūrvādañjeḥ saṁjñāyāmupasaṁkhyānam

The first vārttika says that the roots like śas, duh, guh optionally take kyaP and yaT also. So we get two types of the forms as śasyam and śaṁsyam, duhyam and dohyam, guhyam and gohyam.

The second vārttika says that the root aṁj preceded by the preposition āṅ will have the kyaP suffix, when it is used as a saṁjñā. ā + aṁj + kyaP = ājya, which means ghee.

In KV, the corresponding rule is vṛñdṛjuṣiṁśasustu-guhyaṁ kyaP. In this rule the author has followed P as it is known from the vṛtti. Cf. the vṛtti, "nāmni bhāve ceti nivṛttam eṣām kyab bhavati".[153] In the vṛtti, the word

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152. a) Vasu S.C., (Ed.) Aṣṭ. Op.cit.pp.389-390.
b) Śarmā A., Op.cit. p.200

153. Eggling J, Op.cit. p.330.

eṣām refers to the above mentioned roots in the sūtra. The author is silent regarding the two vārttikas. for which we do not get any corresponding line.

In CV, the corresponding rule is instuśāsuvṛṅdṛjuṣaḥ . In this rule the author has followed P, as it is known from the vṛtti of the sūtra . Cf. the vṛtti, "inādibhyaḥ kyab bhavati, ityaḥ stutyoḥ śiṣyaḥ vṛtyaḥ "[154]. Like KV, here also the author has not mentioned anything for these two vārttikas.

The corresponding rule in JV is stuśāsinvṛdṛjuṣaḥ kyaP D.2.1.91. From the vṛtti of the sūtra it is obvious that the author has followed the paninian principle, cf. the vṛtti, "supyageriti vartate sāmānyenāyaṁ vaktavyaṁ stuśās in vṛṇoti dṛjuṣa ityetebhyaḥ kyabbhavati"[155]. The author has also mentioned these two vārttikas stated below. Which corresponds to the vārttikas given by Kātyāyana in Aṣṭ.

1. śaṁsiduhiguhibhyo veti vaktavyaṁ.
2. ānpūrvādañjeḥ saṁjñāyāṁ kyaP vaktavyaḥ .

In ŚV, the corresponding rule is śāsvṛidṛjuṣastvetyvṛdupāntyādnṛcklṛpcṛteḥ . This rule corresponds to two rules of P's grammar i.e. the present and the just coming rule. The author has followed P. as it is known from the

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154. Chatterji K.C., Op.cit.p.43.

155. Tripāthy Ś.N. JV. Op.cit.p.98.

vṛtti Cf. the vṛtti, " śās vṛñ dṛ juṣ stu eti ityetebhyaḥ ṛc kīrpicṛt ⊃ ivarjitebhya śca ṛkāropānte bhyo dhātubhyaḥ kyappratyayo bhavati ".[156]

The first vārttika is not discussed by Ś. But second vārttika is given in sūtra Ś 4.3.78. The form ājya which is formed by the second vārttika is derived in regular formative procedure by the vārttikakāra where as Ś has derived the form in the way of nīpātana. Cf. the vṛtti, "kupya ājya bhidyaudhya sidhya yuqya ityetāni śabdarupāṇi kyabantāni nāmni nīpātyante "[157] so far as this form is concerned both of them differs.

In SK, the corresponding rule is iṇstuśāsuvṛñdṛju-ṣibhyaḥ Bh.1.3.152. In this rule the author has followed P, as it is known from the vṛtti. Cf. the vṛtti, "iṇādibhyo dhātubhyo bhāvakarmaṇayoḥ kyappratyaya bhavati·ityaḥ , stutyaḥ, śiṣyaḥ ,vṛtyaḥ , ādṛtyaḥ juṣyaḥ ".[158] The author has not given any sūtra or vārttika to corresponds to the two vārttikas of Aṣṭ.

In HS, the corresponding sūtra is dṛbhṛistu - juṣetiśāsaḥ H.5.1.40. The author has followed P as it is known from the vṛtti. Cf. the vṛtti, "ebhyaḥ kyaP bhavati

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156. Tripāthy Ś.N. ŚV, Op.cit. p.394.

157. Ibid.

158. Śāstrī K.S, Op.cit. p.124.

dṛ ādṛtyaḥ, vṛṅ prāvṛtyaḥ vṛṅstu vāryā ṛtvijaḥ stu stutyaḥ avaśyastutyaḥ juṣyaḥ ".[159] Regarding the two vārttikas, the author has not given any corresponding sūtra.

In SV, the corresponding sūtra is instuvṛdṛbhṛśasjus khanebhyaḥ kyaP vācyam,. In this rule the author has followed P, as it is known from the vṛtti , "tuk īyate iti ityaḥ stutyaḥ vṛtyaḥ dṛṅ ādare, dṛtyaḥ bhṛtyaḥ "[160] In the vṛtti, we have seen only the derivation of the forms.

In MV, the corresponding sūtra is dṛbhṛjuṣastvin śāsṛdṛṅ vṛñokṛpacṛtarcpāṇiṣṛj samavasṛjaḥ kyaP V.981. In this rule the author has followed P, as it is known from the vṛtti, Cf. the vṛtti, "drāde ṛkāroṇo vṛñaśca kṛpādivarjāt kyaP syāt ḍha bhāve" [161] In Jmv, the corresponding rule is inśāsujuṣidṛnvṛñpuṇaḥ J.194. The author has followed P, as it is known from the vṛtti. Cf. the vṛtti ", iṇ gatau śāsu anuśiṣṭau , juṣī prīti sevanayoḥ , dṛṅ anādare, vṛñ varaṇe puṇa karmaṇi śubhecca ityetebhyaḥ uttare kya bhavati".[162] The author has not given any corresponding rule for the two vārttikas discussed in Aṣṭ.

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159. HS, Op.cit. pp.336-337.

160. Kudāl Ś, Op.cit. p.456.

161. Bhāṭṭācārya J.V., Op.cit. p.732.

162. Rath C.S. Op.cit. p.440.

ṛudupadhāccākl̥ṛpicṛteḥ	P.3.1.110.
ṛudupadhāccākl̥ṛpicṛteḥ	Sar.4.2.24.
ṛdupāntādaklṛpicṛteḥ	C.1.1.121.
ṛduno'klṛpicṛteḥ	D.2.1.92.
śāsvṛjadṛjusahstvetyṛdupāntyādanṛcklṛpcṛteḥ	Ś.4.3.79
ṛudupadhāccānṛciklṛpicṛteḥ	Bh.1.3.151
ṛdupāntyādakṛpicṛdṛcaḥ	H.5.1.45.
ṛbhṛjusahatvin	V.981
ṛdupāntādanṛccṛt kṛpeḥ	J.193.

The meaning of the rule is the suffix kyaP is employed after the verbs having short ṛ as upadhā besides the root klṛp and cṛt. The letter t used in the sūtra is indicating that short ṛ will be taken in the sūtra but not the long ṝ . These statements will be made clear from the vṛtti cf. the vṛtti, "ṛkāropadhācca dhātoḥ kyaP pratyayo bhavati klṛpicṛti varjaitva."[163] Thus, we have the form vṛtya, vardhya etc. The yaT suffix will be applied to the root klṛp and cṛt. Under this rule we have seen two vārttikas.

i) pāṇausṛjeṛṇyad vaktavyam.

ii) samavapūrvācca.

The first vārttika says that the root sṛj takes ṆyaT suffix, when compounded with the word paṇi . We get the form paṇisargyā.

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163. a) Vasu S.C.(Ed.) Ast, Op.cit. pp.390-391.
b) Śarmā A., Op.cit. p.201.

The second vārttika says when the root sṛi preceded by the sam and ava upasarga takes ṆyaT suffix and we get the form samavasargyā.

In KV, the corresponding rule is S.4.2.24. In this rule the author has followed P, as it is known from the vṛtti, Cf. the vṛtti, "ṛdupadhād dhātoḥ klṛpicṛti varjitān kyab bhavati, vṛtyam, vardhyam aklṛpicṛteḥ kim ? vikalpyam vicartyam.[164]

The author has treated the vārttikas pāṇisargyā rajjuḥ and sampurvācca in the sūtra S.4.2.29. From the line (in which he gives for these two vārttikas) it is known that he has followed P. The vṛtti is given in coming pages at the time of the discussion of the rule S.4.2.29.

In CV, the corresponding rule is C.1.1.121. In this rule the author has followed P, as it is known from the vṛtti, Cf. the vṛtti " ṛkāropāntāt kriyārthāt klṛpicṛtivarjitāt kyab bhavati vṛtyam aklṛpicṛtaita kim ? saṅkalpam vicartyam."[165]

In JV the corresponding rule is D.2.1.92. From the vṛtti of the sūtra, it is known that the author has followed P. cf. the vṛtti, " ṛkārono dhoḥ kyabbhavati kṛpi cṛti varjayitvā vṛtyam vṛddhyam ṇyāpavādyo'yam , akṛpicṛterti kim ? kalpyam cartyam pāṇau samavaśabde ca sṛjeṇau vaktavyaḥ

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164. Eggling J, Op.cit. p.330.

165. Chatterji K.C.,Op.cit. p.43.

Pāṇisargyā rajjuḥ samavasargyā kaṭaḥ "[166] In the vṛtti it self the author has stated two vārttikas. The corresponding rule in ŚV is śasvṛjadṛjusahśtvetyṛdupāntyādanṛcklṛpcṛteḥ Ś.4.3.79. The author has followed P in this rule, as it is known from the vṛtti.[167] This sūtra corresponds to this and the previous rule. The vārttikas are not given in the sūtra.

The corresponding rule in SK is ṛdupadhāccānṛcklṛpcṛteḥ Bh. 1.3.153. The author has not followed P, as it is known from the vṛtti, Cf. the vṛtti, "ṛdupadhāddhātoḥ ṛcikṛlṛpicṛti varjitāt bhāvakarmaṇoḥ khaP bhavati ".[168] P has only given klṛp and cṛt as the exception to the rule where as Bh has added one more root i.e. ṛc to the exception list. For the two vārttikas, the author has given two rules separately, where he follows the vārttikākāra. These two rules are pāṇausṛjaḥ Bh.1.3.170 and samavapūrvācca Bh.1.3.171.

In HS , the corresponding rule is ṛdupāntyādakṛpicṛdṛcaḥ H.5.1.41. The author has followed P in this rule, as it is known from the vṛtti Cf. the vṛtti, "ṛkāropāntyāddhātoḥ kṛpi ārti ṛcivarjitāt kyaP bhavati vṛtyam, vṛdhyam, ārdhyam, śrdhyam, akṛpicṛdṛc iti kim? kalpyam cartyam and arcyam".[169] Like Bh, the author has added the root ṛc the exception list.

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166. Tripathy Ś.N.JV, Op.cit.p.99.
167. For the Vṛtti see the foot note No.156.
168. Śāstrī , K.S. Op.cit. p.125.
169. HS, Op.cit. p.337.

In SV, the corresponding rule is not available.

In MV , the corresponding rule is dṛbhṛjusahstvin śāsṛdṇ vṛño'krpa crta ṛt pānisṛi samevasṛjah kyaP. In this rule the author has followed P as it is known from the vṛtti[170] . The author had added the root ṛc , to the exception list like Bh and H. The author has discussed these two forms of two vārttikas in the sūtra itself.

In Jmv , the corresponding rule is rdupāntādanṛccṛt krpeh - J.193. The author has followed P in this sūtra Like Bh, H and V, he has added the root ṛc to the exception list, as it is known from the vṛtti, Cf. the vṛtti, "ṛcstutau, cṛtihimsāgranthayoh , krpisāmarthye iti etān dhātun vinā ṛdupāntoh dhātoh uttare kyaP bhavati".[171]

Īcakhanah	P.3.1.111
ātkhanāricca	S.4.2.12.
kheyam	C.1.1.122.
kheya ṛājasuyasūryamṛṣodyarucyakupya-	
krṣṭapacyāvyathyah	D.2.1.94.
kheyamṛṣodyam	Ś.4.3.77
khanericca	Bh.1.3.154
kheya mṛṣodye	H.5.1.38
khanetvom kyapivācyam	A
Khanāṭṭere Ca	V.969
khanādantādantaecca	J.186.

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170. For the vṛtti see the foot note No.161.
171. Rath C.S., Op.cit.p.440.

The meaning of the rule is the suffix kyaP is applied after the root khan and ī (the long i) is substituted for the final n of the root. cf. the vrtti "khanerdhātoḥ khap pratyayo bhavatīkāraścāntādeśaḥ kheyam".[172] We get the form kheyam, where ī is substituted for final n letter of the root.

khan + kyaP

= khan + ī + ya = kheyam

The corresponding rule in KV is ātkhanāricca. S.4.2.12. The rule says that the suffix ya will be added to the root khan and the last letter of the root will be substituted by i. Cf. the vrtti, "ākārāntad dhātoḥ khaneśca yo bhavati deyam, dheyam, kheyam".[173]

In this grammar the author has extended the scope of the root by accepting the ākāranta roots like dā, dhā, where as P only gives the application for the root khan. Secondly, the author has applied ya (yaT) suffix, but P has applied the kyaP suffix. Lastly, from the vrtti it is not clearly known either short or long i or e is substituted for the last letter, as this is given in saṁdhi. Probably e has taken as the substitution as it is obvious from the vrtti. The author has retained main idea of P and extended it by his own idea.

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172. a) Vasu S.C.(Ed.) Aṣṭ. Op.cit. p.391.
b) Śarmā A., Op.cit. p.201.

173. Eggling J. Op.cit. p.327.

In CV, the corresponding rule is kheyaṃ,. The rule means that the form kheyaṃ is formed from root khan by the kyaP suffix which is added to it by nipātana not in regular procedure. The author differs from P so far as this rule is concerned. P has derived the form in regular procedure where as here it is derived by the nipātana. Cf. the vṛtti , "khanateḥ kyapi kheyamiti nipātyate."[174] C has not followed P.

In JV, the corresponding rule is kheyarājasūya sūrya mṛṣodya rucya kupyakṛṣṭapacyāvyathyaḥ D.2.1.94. This rule corresponds to two rules of P i.e. present one and P.3.1.114. Like C, the author has derived the form kheya by the nipātana process . He also has taken short i as the substitute of the last letter of the root khan. cf. the vṛtti, " kheyādayaḥ śabdā nipātyante kheyamiti khanateryo nipātyate ikāraścāntādeśaḥ ādep " ye vā (4.4.45) ityātvom nāśankanīyaṃ nīpātanādeva. rājasūyamiti rājaśabde vānte bhānte sunoteḥ kyaP dītvaṁ ca nīpātyate rājñā sūyate rājā vā asmin sūyate iti rājasūyaṃ saratikarmaṇi suvatīti vā sūryaḥ sartterūtvaṁ sūvatervā rūḍāgamaḥ kyapca nipātyate mṛṣāpūrvasya vadatermnityaṁ kyamnīpātyate mṛṣdyaṃ rūcyamiti kartari kyaP nipātyate kupyamiti samjñāyaṃ guperādau katvaṁ kyacca nipātyate kupyaṁ phalgubhāṇḍamityarthaḥ. gopya manyat.kṛṣṭe pacyante

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174. Chatterji K.C., Op.cit. p.43.

svayameva kṛṣṭapacyā brīhayaḥ ātmakarmaṇi kyaP, na-vyathate'sāvavyathyaḥ nañpūrvādvyathateḥ kartari kyaP nipātyate.[175] (This vṛtti combies two paninian sūtra i.e. P.3.1.111 and P.3.1.114).

The author has not followed P in this sūtra. Because

i) D has described the form by the nipātana process, where as P has described in regular process.

ii) D has applied ya suffix irregularly or by the nipātana where as P has applied kyaP suffix in regular process.

iii) P has substituted ī for the last letter of the root khan i.e. the letter n, where as D has substituted i instead of long one.

In ŚV, the corresponding rule is kheyaṃrṣodyaṃ Ś.4.3.177. In this rule, the author has not followed P, but to C and D. The rule says that the form like kheyaṃ and mṛṣodyaṃ are formed irregularly by the kyaP suffix. The author has also accepted the i (short) but not the long one, which changes to e cf. the vṛtti, "kheyaṃrṣo-dyamiti kyabantaṃ nipātyate kheyeti khanerghyno'pavādaḥ kyaP antyasya ca ikārabkheyaṃ, utkheyaṃ, nikheyaṃ,

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175. Tripāthy Ś. N. JV, Op.cit. p.99.

mṛṣodyeti mṛṣāpūrvādvadateḥ pakṣe ye prāpte nityam kyaP mṛṣdyam na bhāvaḥ iti yogavibhāgaḥ " [176]

In SK, the corresponding rule is khanerica Bh 1.3.154. The author has followed P in this rule, as it is known from the vṛtti, Cf. the vṛtti, " khanerdhātorbhāvakarmaṇorthayoḥ kyaP bhavati īkārāścādeśaḥ kheyam, dīrghoccāraṇam tuṅgivṛttyartham ". [177]

In HS, the corresponding rule is kheyamṛṣodye H.5.1.138.

The author has not followed P in this sūtra as he has derived the form kheyam by the process called nipātana The meaning of the rule is that the word kheya and mṛṣodya are irregularly formed by the kyaP suffix. cf. the vṛtti "anupasargāditi nāmna iti ca nivṛtam kheyamṛṣodya ityetau kyabantau nipātyate . khanerghyaṇo'parādaḥ khaP antyasvarādeḥekārāraśca". [178] From the vṛtti, it is confirmed that the author has followed C, D, S in this rule.

In SV, the corresponding rule is khan etvaṁ kyabi vācyam. The author has followed P in this rule. He has

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176. Tripāthy Ś.N. (Ed.) ŚV op.cit. p.394.

177. Śāstrī K.S.,Op.cit.p.125.

178. HS. Op.cit. p.336.

described the rule in brief. For the word kheyam, the author has only mentioned, "khanyate iti kheyam".[179] in the vṛtti. From this line nothing can be judged. Whether the author has derived the form in regular formative procedure or by the nipātana is not known clearly. So we can not say safely whether he has followed P or not.

In MV, the corresponding rule is khanāttere ye V.969. The author has exactly followed S, the author of KV. Because in the sūtra, like S, the author has said that from the root khan and the roots ending in ā will take ya suffix and the last letter will be substituted by e . Cf. the vṛtti, "khanaādantasya ca te re syāt ye pare kheyam, deyam ".[180]

In Jmv, the corresponding rule is khanādāntadanta—ecca J. 186. Here the author has followed S and V. Because the rule says that the yaṄ suffix will be applied to the root khan and the roots ending in ā, and the last letter of the roots will be substituted by e. Cf. the vṛtti, " khandhātoḥ ākārānta dhātoḥ uttare yaṅ bhavati, antaecca, khan - kheyam . dā - deyam."[181]

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179. Kudāl , Ś. Op.cit. p.456.

180. Bhattācārya J.V., Op.ci.t p.727.

181. Rath C.S., Op.cit. p.439.

Here the author differs from P, because

i) Here the author has yaṆ suffix where as P has used kyaP suffix.

ii) According to P, the last letter of the root khan will be substituted by ī, where as J has substituted e for the last letter.

iii) P has made the rule only for the root khan, where as J has applied the rule for ākāranta roots and the root khan. The author has followed KV and MV, where these three points in Jmv are available.

bhṛño'saṁjñāyāṁ	P. 3.1.112.
bhṛño'saṁjñāyāṁ	S.4.2.25
bhṛño'saṁjñāyāṁ	C.1.1.123.
bhṛño'khau	D.2.1.93.
bhṛño'nāmni	S.4.3.82
bhṛño'saṁjñāyāṁ	Bh.1.3.155.
bhṛgo'saṁjñāyāṁ	H.5.1.45.
bhṛño'saṁjñāyāṁ	J.196.

The rule says, the suffix kyaP will be applied to the root bhṛ when it is not used as a saṁjñā . When it denotes a saṁjñā , the ṆyaT suffix will be applied. Cf. the vṛtti, "bhṛño dhātorasaṁjñāyāṁ viṣaye kyaP pratyayo bhavati bhṛtyāḥ karmakarāḥ bhartavyāḥ ityarthaḥ

asaṁjñāyām iti kim ? bhāryonāma kṣatriyaḥ."[182]

There is a vārttika under this rule entitled "saṁpūrvādvibhāṣā". By this vārttika optionally kyaP and ṆyaT will be applied to the root bhṛ , when it takes saṁ as preposition. We get the dual forms saṁbhṛtyā by the kyaP and saṁbhāryā by the ṆyaT suffix.

In KV, the corresponding rule is S.4.2.25.. The author has followed P in this rule, as it is known from the vṛtti. Cf. the vṛtti, "bhṛño'saṁjñāyām kyaP bhavati, bharaṇam bhṛtyam bhriyate iti vā bhṛtyāḥ asaṁjñāyāmiti kim. bhāryānāma kṣatriya vāryā vadhūḥ. nanu ca saṁjñāyāmapi striyām kyabasti. na tasya bhāve vidhānam".[183]

In the vṛtti, the author has stated that, the kyaP suffix will be applied to root bhṛ in feminine gender when it means a saṁjñā but not in bhāve sense.

For the vārttika sampūrvād vibhāṣā , the author has stated a line in the vṛtti of the sūtra S.4.2.29. From this line it is known that the author has followed P. This line is given in the coming pages at the time of the discussion of the sūtra S.4.2.29.

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182. a) Vasu S.C., Aṣṭ. Op.cit. p.391.
b) Śarmā A, Op.cit. P.201.

183. Eggling J, Op.cit. p.330.

In CV, the corresponding rule is bhṛño'samjñāyām C.1.1.123. Here the author has followed S. Because here also we do find the very exact statement as it is stated in KV. Cf. the vṛtti, "bhṛño'samjñāyām kyaP bhavati, bhṛtyaḥ asamjñāyāmiti kim ? bhāryā, nanuca samjñāyāmapi strīyāṁ kyabasti natasya bhāve grahaṇam."[184] For vārttika the author has not mentioned anything.

In JV, the corresponding rule is bhṛño'khau D.2.1.93. Here the author has exactly followed Ś, and C, because in the vṛtti he has mentioned that, in feminine gender, the kyaP suffix will be applied to the root bhṛ , but not in bhāve sense but in karmaṇi sense. The author has also mentioned the vārttika of this rule. Cf. the vṛtti, "bhṛñaḥ kyabbhavati akhuviṣaye , bhṛtyāḥ karmakarāḥ bhṛtyāḥ śiśavaḥ , bhartavyā ityarthaḥ akhāviti kim, bhāryā nāma kṣatrīyaḥ kecit devadattasya bhāryā strīyām " samajaniṣad ....(2/3/81) ityādinā bhāve kyap. Karmaṇi cāyam bhāryāśabdaḥ sampūrvādveti vaktavyam. sambhṛtyā sambhāryā karmakāraḥ ".[185]

In ŚV, the corresponding rule is bhṛño'nāmni Ś.4.3.82. In this sūtra the author has followed P as it is known from the vṛtti.cf. the vṛtti, "bhṛño dhātoranāmni kyaP pratyayo bhavati, bhṛtyāḥ karmakarāḥ vartavyāḥ poṣyāḥ

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184. Chatterji K.C. Op.cit. pp.43-44.

185. Tripāthy Ś.N. JV, Op.cit. p.99

ityārtaḥ anāmni iti kim ? bhāryānāma kṣatriyā bhāryā devadattasya.[186] In the example vāryā devadattasya, the word bhāryā is in feminine, gender and it is formed not in bhāve sense.

For the vārttika, he has mentioned a separate rule all together which is known as samo vā Ś.4.3.83. The sūtra says that the root bhṛñ will take the kyaP and ṆyaT suffix optionally when it is having sam as upasarga. Cf. the vṛtti, "sampūrvādbhṛñaḥ kyaP pratyayo vā bhavati. sambhṛtyāḥ saṁbhāryāḥ ".[187]

In SK, the corresponding rule is bhṛño'saṁjñāyām Bh.1.3.155. Here the author has followed P. But in the vṛtti, he has stated that the root bhṛ will take kyaP suffix in bhāve sense, when it means a saṁjñā by the vahulādhikāra. Cf. the vṛtti, "bhṛño dhātoḥ asaṁjñāyām kyaP bhavati, bhṛtyaḥ bhartavyāḥ ityarthaḥ asaṁjñāyāmiti kim ?bhāryā nāma kṣatriyaḥ bhāryā patnī saṁjñāyāmapi vahulādhikāreṇa kumārabhṛtyeti bhāva eva vidhānam.[188]

The author has given the sūtra sami vā Bh.1.3.156 which corresponds to the vārttika found under this rule in Aṣṭ. This rule says when the root bhṛñ is having sam as the upapada, it takes kyaP and ṆyaT suffix in bhave

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186. Tripāthy , Ś.N. Śv. Op.cit.p.395.

187. Ibid.

188. Śāstrī K.S.,Op.cit. p.125.

and karmaṇi sense and the optional forms are saṁbhṛtya and saṁbhārya Cf. the vṛtti, "samyupapade bhṛño bhāvakarmaṇoḥ kyaP vā bhavati, saṁbhṛtya saṁbhāryaḥ " [189]

In HS the corresponding rule is bhṛgo'saṁjñāyām. H.5.1.45. Here the author has followed P, but like all other post-paninian grammarian he has stated that the root bhṛg will take the kyaP suffix, when it means a saṁjñā and the form is in feminine gender but not in bhāva sense. Cf. the vṛtti,"bhṛgvdhātoras saṁjñāyām kyaP bhavati. bhṛīyate bhṛtyaḥ posyā ityarthaḥ asaṁjñāyāmiti kim bhāryo nāma kṣatrīyaḥ . bhāryā patnī. nanu ca saṁjñāyāmapi strīyām bhṛgonāmni iti kyabasti yathā kumāra bhṛtyā na tasya bhāva eva vidhānam ." [190] From the vṛtti, it is obvious that, the author has followed S,C, D,Ś and Bh.

The vārttika is given as a rule in HS. The rule is samo vā. H.5.1.46. This rule says that the root vṛg will take kyaP and NyaT , when sam is used as upapada before itand the forms are saṁbhṛtyaḥ and saṁbhāryaḥ Cf. the vṛtti, "sampūrvād vṛgaḥ kyaP vā bhavati". [191]

In SV, the corresponding rule is not available.

In MV, the corresponding rule is not available.

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189. Ibid.

190. HS, Op.cit.p.337.

191. Ibid.

In Jmv, the corresponding rule is bhṛño'saṁjñāyāṁ J.196. The author has followed P as it is known from vṛtti. Cf. the vṛtti , " asaṁjñāyāṁ bhṛñodhātoḥ kya bhavati, bhṛtyaḥ asaṁjñāyāṁ iti kim ? bhāryā strī bhāryaḥ kṣatrīyā ".[192]

mṛjervibhāṣā	P.3.1.113.
kṛvṛsi mṛjāṁ vā	S.4.2.29.
kṛvṛsimṛjiśaṁsiduhigrahaḥ	C.1.1.125.
kṛvṛsimṛjāṁ yaśobhadrasya	D.2.1.99.
kṛmṛjvṛṣaśaṁsa guhaduhajapaḥ	Ś.4.3.84-
kṛvṛsiṁṛjiśaṁ siduhiguhibhyaḥ	Bh.1.3.157.
kṛvṛsimṛjiśaṁsi guhiduhijapo vā	H.5.1.41
mṛjo vā kyaP	A
kṛvṛsaṁṛjaguhaduhaśansasaṁbhṛpratyāpi graho vā	V.983
dūhārdevā	J.197.

The meaning of the rule is, the suffix is applied to the root mṛ optionally. Optionally the NyaT suffix also comes cf. the vṛtti, "mṛjerdhātor vibhāṣā kyaP pratyayo bhavati[193]. It is an example of prāptavibhāṣā . Because by the rule ṛdupadhāccāklṛpicṛteḥ P.3.1.110 parimṛjya and parimārgya are the optional forms.

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192. Rath C.S., Op.cit. p.441.

193. a) Vasu S.C., Aṣṭ. Op.cit.p.391.

b) Śarmā A, Op.cit. p.201.

The corresponding rule in KV is kṛvṛsimṛjām vā K. 4.2.29. This rule corresponds to P's two rules, this and rule and P.3.1.120. The author has followed P as its is known from the vṛtti. Cf. the vṛtti, "kṛñādibhyo vibhāṣāyaḥ kyah bhavati kṛtyam, kāryam, vṛṣyam, varṣyam, mṛjyam, mārgyam duhiśamsibhyām kyabapi, duhyam, dohyam. śasyam śaṁsyam kṛtyayuto'nyatrāpi (Kā.4.5.62) iti vacanāt tathā mṛṣadyamiti kyabeba [194] ".

In CV, the corresponding rule is kṛvṛsimṛjiśamsi-duhigrahaḥ C.1.1.125. This rule corresponds to two rules from Aṣṭ i.e. this rule and the rule P.3.1.120. The author has followed P as it is known from the vṛtti, "kṛñādibhyaḥ kyab bhavati vā. kṛtyam, kāryam. vṛṣyam vārṣyam, mṛjyam, [195] mārgyam. śasyam śaṁsyam. duhyam dohyam. guhyam gohyam".

In JV, the corresponding sūtra is kṛvṛsimṛjām yaśobhadrasya D.2.1.99. This rule corresponds P's two rules this present one and the rule P.3.1.120. This rule says according to Ācārya yaśobhadra, the root kṛ, vṛṣ and mṛj takes kyaP suffix. The forms which are available optionally are kṛtyam, kāryam vṛṣyam, varṣyam, mṛjyam mārgyam. From the meaning and vṛtti of the sūtra it is known that the author has followed P. cf. the vṛtti "kārthe tā, kṛvṛṣi mṛj ityetebhyaḥ kyaP bhavati

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194. Eggling J, Op.cit. pp.331.332.

195. Chatterji K.Ç.,Op.cit. p.44.

yaśobhadracāryasya matena. kṛtyam, kāryam, nityaṁ ṇyaḥ prāptaḥ vṛṣyam varṣyam, parimṛjyam, parimārgyam "ṛduṅgaḥ " (2.1.97) iti nityam kyaP prāptaḥ "[196]

In ŚV , the corresponding rule is kṛmṛjvṛṣaśaṁsaguhaduhajapaḥ Ś.4.3.84. This rule also corresponds to this and the rule P 3.1.B80. In this rule the author has followed P as it is known from the vṛtti . cf. the vṛtti "kṛmṛjvṛṣśaṁsguhaduhajap ityetebhyo dhātubhyaḥ kyaP pratyayo vā bhavati, kṛtyam kāryam, mṛjyam mārgyam vṛṣyam varṣyam, śasyam śāsyam, guhyam gohyam, duhyam, dohyam, japyam jāpyam kyapā mukte ghyan ye vikalpābhāvāt".[197]

In SK, the corresponding rule is kṛvṛṣimṛjiśaṁsiduhiguhibhyaḥ Bh.1.3.158. The author has followed P in this rule as it is known from the vṛtti. Cf. the vṛtti, "kṛ ityādibhyo dhātubhyo bhāvakarmaṇoḥ kyaP vā bhavati kṛtyaṁ kāryam vṛṣyaṁ varṣyam vārṣyam mṛjyaṁ mārgyam, śaṁsyaṁ saṁsyam saṁsyam duhyaṁ dohyam guhyaṁ gohyam ".[198] Like other post-paninian grammarians, this sūtra also corresponds to this and the rule P.3.1.120.

In HS, the corresponding rule is kṛ vṛṣimsjiśaṁsi guhiduhijapo vā H.5.1 .42. The author has followed P in this rule, as it is known from the vṛtti . cf. the vṛtti

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196. Tripathy Ś.N. JV, Op.cit.p.99

197. Tripāthy Ś.N. ŚV op.cit.p.395.

198. Śāstrī K.S., Op.cit.p.125.

"ebhyaḥ kyaP vā bhavati kṛtyam kāryam, vṛṣyam, varṣyam. mṛjyam, mārgyam·śasyam śaṃsyam·guhyam, gohyam·duhyam dohyam japyam jāpyam·japerapi kyababhāvapakṣe ghyaṇ vikalpa-sāmarthyāt" [199] In this rule the author has added one more rule i.e. jap, which is not found in Aṣṭ.

The corresponding rule in SV is mṛjovā kyaP. In this rule the author has followed P. The author has not given any explanation of the sūtra . Only he has stated the forms like mṛjyam and mārgyam.[200] From the available forms it is inferred that the author has accepted the paninian procedure.

In MV, the corresponding sūtra is kṛvṛsamṛjaguhaduha-śansasaṁbhṛ pratyāpi graho vā. V.983. In this sūtra , the author has followed P. The rule says that the roots like kṛ, vṛṣ , mṛj etc. will take kyaP optionally in bhāve sense. cf. the vṛtti, ebhyaḥ kyaP syāt vā ḍha bhāve, kṛtyaṁ kāryaṁ vṛṣyaṁ varṣyaṁ, mṛjyaṁ mārgyaṁ, guhyaṁ gohyaṁ, duhyaṁ dohyaṁ, śasyaṁ śaṁsyaṁ, saṁbhṛtya saṁbhārya pratigṛhyaṁ pratigrāhyaṁ." [201]

In this rule also we get the forms like saṁbhṛtya and saṁbhārya, which is given in a vārttika sampūrvād-vibhāṣā available under the sūtra bhṛño'saṁjñāyāṁ P.3.1.112.

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199. HS, Op.cit.p.337.
200. Kudāl Ś. Op.cit. p.455.
201. Bhaṭṭācārya J.V., Op.cit. p.733.

In Jmv, the corresponding rule dūhārdevā J.197. The author has followed P in this rule as it is known from the vṛtti. Cf. the vṛtti, "duhādibhyo dhātubhyaḥ uttare vikalpe kya bhavati, pakṣāntare ṇyaḥ, duḥ - dohyaṁ duhyam mṛju mṛjyam mārgyam."[202]

rājasūya sūryamṛṣodyarucya kupya kṛṣṭapacyā-	
vyathyā -	P.3.1.14.
sūryorūcyāvyakṣāḥ kartari -	S.4.2.30
kṛṣṭapacya kupye saṁjñāyām -	S.4.2.34
rājasūyarucyakṛṣṭapacyyāvyathyaḥ -	C.1.1.126.
kheyarāja sūyasūryamṛṣodyarucyakupya-	
kṛṣṭapacyāvyathyāḥ -	D.2.1.94.
kuṇḍapāyyasancāyyarājasūyaḥ kratau -	Ś.4.3.64
rucyāvyathau -	Ś.4.3.48.
rājasūyasūryau yajñadevatayoḥ -	Bh.1.3.160.
rājasūyasūryau yajñadevatayoḥ -	Bh.1.3.158
rūcyāvyathau kartari -	Bh.1.3.159
samcāyyakuṇḍapāyyarājasūyyam kratau-	H.5.1.22.
rucyavyathyavāstavyam -	H.5.1.6
pāyyadhāyya pranāyyānāyya kuṇḍapāyya-	
sañcāyya rājasūya sannāyya nikāyya paricā-	
yopacāyya cityāgnicityā samūhyāmavasyā-	
māvasyā yājyāḥ	V.975-

202. Rath C.S..Op.cit. p.441.

gṛhyavinīya vipūyajityāsūryya rūcyāvyathyabhidyonvyapuṣya siddhya tiṣyājya yugya kṛṣṭapacyya kupya bhārjyāḥ - V.984.

suñorājñonāmni - J.180

kṛṣṭapacaḥ - J.190.

The meaning of the rule is the word rājasūya, sūrya, mṛṣodya, rucya, kupya, kṛṣṭapacya, avyathya are the nipātita forms formed by the kyaP suffixes, which are not explained in regular grammatical procedure. In the vṛtti it is mentioned as, "rājasūya, sūrya moṣodya, rūcya kupya kṛṣṭapacya avyathya ityete śabdāḥ kyapi nipātyante".[203]

In KV, two rules are ordained by the author to corresponds to this rule. These two rules are sūryarūcyāvyakṣayāḥ kartari- S.4.2.30 and kṛṣṭapacyya kupye saṁjñāyām. S.4.2.34. In these two rules the author has followed P, as it is known from the vṛtti. cf. the vṛtti, "ete nipātyante kartari, suprerano suvati lokān sarati veti sūryyaḥ rocate iti rucyaḥ na vyathata iti avyathyaḥ" (the vṛtti of S.4.2.30) and "etau nipātyate saṁjñāyām kṛṣṭapacyante svayameva kṛṣṭapacyā brīhayaḥ gupyata iti kupyam suvarnarajatābhyāmanyat". (the vṛtti of S.4.2.34).[204]

In CV, the corresponding rule is rājasūya rucya kṛṣṭapacyāvyathyaḥ C.1.1.126. This rule contains most of the

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203. a) Vasu S.C., Aṣṭ. Op.cit.p.392.

b) Śarmā A. Op.cit.p.202.

204. Eggling J, Op.cit. pp.332-333.

forms of the rule P.3.1.114. Some rem nant forms are available in the just following sūtra C.1.1.127 and these forms are discussed under the rule C.1.1.127. So far as these rules are concerned, the author has followed P as it is known from the vṛtti, Cf. the vṛtti, " ete śabdā nipātyante rājñā stavyo rājasuyaḥ katham sūryaḥ ? sūrśabdāt svārthiko yat atharā sūryāgastoyoḥ (C.5.3.153) iti nipātanāt. mṛṣāpūrvād vadateḥ kyaP siddha eva. mṛṣodyam,pakṣe na bhaviṣyati vahulādhikārāt rocata iti rūcyaḥ , kṛṣṭe pacyanta iti kṛṣṭapacyāḥ śālayaḥ na vyathate, avyathyaḥ "[205]

In the vṛtti we have seen that there is a line as suraśabdāt svārthiko yaT. Likewise in some MSS it is found as "suraśabdāt svārthiko ṆyaT". But when ṆyaT will be added to sura, the form well be saura, which is not at all grammatically correct. So according to C sūra is surya. cf. the line 'sūra eva sūrya iti candragomī '.[206]

In JV, the corresponding rule is kheya rājasūya sūrya-mṛṣodyarucyakupya kṛṣṭapacyāvyathyāḥ D.2.1.94. This rule corresponds to two rules of P,this and the rule P.3.1.111. From the vṛtti[207] it is clearly known that the author has followed P.

In ŚV, we find two corresponding rules, these are rucyāvyathau Ś.4.3.48 and kundapāyyasañcāyyarājasūyaḥ

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205. Chatterji K.C., Op.cit.p.44.

206. Ibid.

207. For the vṛtti see the foot note No.175.

kratau. Ś.4.3.64. From the vṛtti of these two sūtras it is obvious that the author has followed P. cf. the vṛtti,"rucya vyathya ityetau kartari bhavata iti veditavyam ataeva rocaternañpūrvāccavyathyateḥ kyappratyayau vijñāyate rocata iti rūcyo modako devadattāya navyathyata ityavyathyo devadattaḥ "(Ś.4.3.48) and "kuṇḍapāyyā sañcāyya rājasūya ityete śabdāḥ kartāvabhidheye ghyaṇantā nipātyante kuṇḍaiḥ pīyate'smin soma iti kuṇḍapāyaḥ kratuḥ kuṇḍapāno' nyaḥ . sañcīyata iti sañcāyyaḥ kratuḥ sañceyo'nyaḥ rājñā sotavyo rājā vā sūyate'sminniti rājasūyaḥ kratu." (Ś.4.3.64) 208

So far as the form rājasūya is concerned the author differs from P. Because the word rājasūya is irregularly formed by the KyaP suffix in Paninian procedure, where as Ś. states that this word will be irregularly formed by the GHyaN (NyaT) suffix. Apart from this the author agrees with P.

In SK, three rules are available which correspond to the single rule in P's grammar. These three rules are kṛṣtapacyā karmakartari Bh.1.3.158, rucyāvyathau kartari Bh.1.3.159. rājasūyasūryauvajnadevatayoḥ Bh.1.3.160.

The author agrees with P so far as the derivation of these three forms are concerned, as it is known from the vṛtti. Cf. the vṛtti, "paceḥ kṛṣtaśabde saptamyanta upapade karmakartari kyappratyayo nipātyate kṛṣtapacyante

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208. Tripathy Ś.N. SV. Op.cit.pp.391-393.

svayameva kṛṣṭapacyāḥ śālayaḥ " (Bh.1.3.158) " rucernañpūrvād vyatheśca kartari kyaP nipātyate rocate'sau rucyaḥ na vyathate avyathyaḥ " (Bh.1.3.159) and "rājasūya sūrya ityetau śabdau yathāsaṅkhyam yajñadevatayor nipātyate". (Bh.1.3.160) 209

These three rules also unable to supply all the forms in the rule P.3.1.14.

In HS, we find two rules which correspond to this rule. These rules are rucyā vyathya vāstavyam H.5.1.6 and and samcāyya kuṇḍapāyya rājasūyyaṁ kratau H.5.1.22. These two rules are also not sufficient to account for all the forms given in P's rule. From the vṛtti of these two rules it is obvious that the author has followed P so far as the derivation and meaning of these forms are concerned. Cf. the vṛtti, "ete kartari nipātyante rocaternañpūrvāt vyathateśca kyaP pratyayo vasatestu taryaN nipātyate na vyathyate ityavyathyau muniḥ vasatīti vāstavyaḥ " (H.5.1.6) and "ete kratāvabhidheye ghyaṇantā nipātyante ādhāre karmaṇi vā nipātanādevāyādeśa dīrghatve api bhavataḥ saṁcīyate somo'smin saṁcīyate vāsāviti saṁcāyya kratuḥ saṁceyo'nyaḥ kuṇḍaiḥ pīyate somo'smin kuṇḍaiḥ pīyate iti vā kuṇḍapāyyaḥ rājāsūyate'smin rājñā vā sotavya iti rājasūyaḥ kratuḥ". (H.5.1.22) 210

From the above vṛtti it is known that both of the authors differ in the case of rājasūyaḥ P. has stated that

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209. Śāstrī K.S., Op.cit.p.125-126.

210. HS,Op.cit. pp.331-334.

the word rājasūyaḥ will be formed irregularly by the kyaP suffix, where as H has stated that this form will be derived by the GHyaN (NyaT) suffix. Apart from this both of them are same.

In SV, the corresponding rule is not available .

In MV, there are two rules which correspond to the above paninian rule. These are V.975 and V.984. Like H, V also differs from P so far as the form rājasūya is concerned. The author has derived the form by nipātana procedure by GHyaN (NyaT) suffix , where as P has derived it by nipātana by kyaP suffix. Apart from this V has followed P, as it is known from the vṛtti. Cf. the vṛtti. "ete ghyaṇantā nīpāty ante pāyyaṁ mānam dadhātyagnimiti dhāyyā samadhene dhāyyā ṛtvijaḥ praṇāyyaḥ asammataḥ priyo vā anāyyo dakṣiṇāgniḥ . kuṇḍaipīyate atra soma iti kuṇḍapāyyaḥ kratuḥ rājñāsūyate rājasūyaḥ kratuḥ sānnāyaṁ haviḥ nikāyyo nivāsaḥ. paricāyo'gniḥ upacāyyogniḥ. cityāgniḥ agneścayanamiti agnicityā samūhyo'gniḥ saṁvāhyaityarthaḥ amāsahavasato'syāṁ candrārkā cityamāva syā amāvāsyā. yajanti anayā iti yājyā , nipāto hi arthaviśeṣaḥ". (V.975) and ete kyabantā nīpātyante pragṛhyaṁ padaṁ kṛṣṇagṛhyaḥ kṛṣṇavarṇyaḥ gṛhyo'sverī, grāmagṛhyā grāmavāhyā, vinīyaḥ kalkaḥ vīpuyo muñjaḥ jityā hali saratīti sūryaḥ evaṁ rūcyaḥ avyathyaḥ kulaṁ bhinnattīti bhidyo nadaḥ vāri

ujhotīti uddhyo nadaḥ kāyyaṁ puṣṇātīti puṣyonakṣatraṁ kāyyaṁ sādhayatīti siddhyaḥ , sa evo tisyo'pi ājyaṁ ghṛtaṁ, yugyaṁ vāhanaṁ kṛste svayam pacyate iti kṛṣṭapacyo vrīhiḥ , kupyaṁ suvarṇarūpābhyāmanyat. bhāryyā vadhūḥ kṣatriyā ca " (V.984).[211]

In Jmv, we find two corresponding rules which correspond to this single rule. These two rules are suñorājño nāmni J.189 and kṛṣṭapacaḥ J.190. These two rules are also not sufficient to account for all the forms given in the rule P.3.1.114.

Here the author has not followed P. Because the author has derived these forms in regular formative procedure, where as P has derived these by the procedure called nipātana. It is clear from the vṛtti. Cf. the vṛtti, "nāmnyupapade rājan pūrvaḥ śabdāt uttare kyabhavati yathā rājñāśūyate asmin iti rāja śūyam " (J.189) and "nāmnyupapade kṛṣṭapūrva pac dhātoḥ uttare kya bhavati yathā kṛṣṭena (karṣaṇena) pacyante iti kṛṣṭapacyāḥ vrīhayaḥ "[212] (J.190).

These two rules only stands for the two words, other words are not available. J, is the only author who derives these forms in regular formative process, for which he differs from all in this sūtra.

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211. Bhaṭṭācārya J.V., Op.cit. pp.729-734.

212. Rath C.S., Op.cit.p.440.

bhidyoddhyau nade – P.3.1.115.

bhidyoddyau nade – S.4.2.31.

kupyājyabhidyoddhyasiddhyayugyānināmni – C.1.1.127

bhiddyoddhyau nade – D.2.1.95

kupyājyabhidyo ddhyasidhya yugyaṁ nāmni –Ś4.3.78

bhidyoddhyau nade – Bh.1.3.161.

kupyabhidyoddhya siddhya tiṣyapuṣya yugyājya – sūryam nāmni . H.5.1.39.

bhidyoddhyau nade nipātyate – A.

gṛhyavinīya vipūyajityāsūryyarucyyavyathyā – bhiddyonvyapuṣyasiddhya tiṣyājyayugya-kṛṣtapacyā kupyabhāryya. V.984.

This rule means that the words bhidya and uddhya are irregularly formed by the kyaP suffix, when they mean a "river". This statement is supported by the vṛtti ,cf. the vṛtti, "bhiderujjheśca kyaP nipātyate nade'bhidheye ujherdhatvaṁ ca bhinnatti kulaṁ bhidyaoḥ ujhati udakam uddhyaḥ nade iti kim bhettā, ujjhitā ".[213] If the meaning will not be a river, then bhettā and ujhitā, these two forms will be available in regular process.

The corresponding rule in KV is bhidyodyau nade. S. 4.2.31. In this rule the author has blindly followed P without any addition or change, as it is known from the vṛtti.

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213. a) Vasu S.C., Aṣṭ. Op.cit. p.392.
b) Śarmā A, Op.cit. p.202.

Cf. the vṛtti, "etau nade karatari nipātyante bhinnati kulānīti bhidyonadaḥ. ujhatyudakamityudyonadaḥ. kathaṁ bhidyonadam iti karmavivakṣāyām."[214]

In CV, the corresponding rule is kupyājyobhidyoddhasiddhyayagyānināmni C.1.1.127. This rule corresponds to three rules of Aṣṭ. i.e. this one and P.3.1.116 and P.3.1.221. From the vṛtti it is obvious that the author has followed P. Cf. the vṛtti, "etāni śabdarupāni saṁjñāyāṁ nipātyante. kupyam, dhanam. ājyam ghṛtam. bhidyonāma nadaḥ. evaṁouddhyaḥ sidhyaḥ katham puṣyaḥ? tiṣyapuṣayoḥ iti nipātanāt. yugyam, yānam anyatra, gopyam aṅgyam, bhedyam, ujhyam, sedhanam, sedhyam, yogyam".[215]

In JV, the corresponding rule is bhidyoddhau nade D.2.1.95. The author has followed P, as it is known from the vṛtti. Cf. the vṛtti, "bhidya uddhya ityetau nipātyate nade'bhidheye, bhinnati kulāni bhīdyaḥ ujjhatyudakāmiti uddhyaḥ kartari kārake kyaP ujherdhatvaṁ ca nipātyate nada iti kim? bhidaḥ ujjhaḥ iguṇlakṣaṇaḥ kaḥ pacādyaccaḥ yathākramam".[216]

The corresponding rule in ŚV is kupyājyabhidyoddhya sidhyayugyam nāmni Ś.4.3.78. This rule corresponds to the present rule and some other rules of Aṣṭ. The author has

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214. Eggling J, Op.cit. p.332.
215. Chatterji K.C., Op. cit.
216. Tripāthy Ś.N. JV, Op.citt p.99.

has followed P. so far as the vṛtti of the sūtra is concerned cf. the vṛtti, "kupya ājya bhidya, uddhya siddhya yugya ityetāni śabdarupāni kyabantāni nāmni nipātyante. gopayati iti kupyaṁ dhanaṁ ājyata ityājyaṁ ghṛtam bhinnatti kulamiti bhidyo nāma nadaḥ uddhyatyudakamiti uddhyo nāma nadaḥ siddhyantyasminnarthā siddhyo nāma nakṣatraṁ yujyate tadgamna iti yugyaṁ yānam nāmniti rdhyartham.[217]

In SK, the corresponding rule is bhidyoddhau nade Bh. 1.3.161. The author has followed P. in this rule as it is known from the vṛtti, Cf. the vṛtti, "bhiderujjheśa nade kartaryarthe kyaP nipātyate ujherdhatvaṁ ca bhinnati kūlānīti bhidyaḥ ujjhatyudakamityuddhyaḥ nada iti kim bhettā, ujjhitā ".

In HS, the corresponding rule is kupyabhidyoddhya siddhyatiśyapuṣya yugyājya sūryam nāmni H.5.1.39. The author has followed P in this rule as it is known from the vṛtti. Cf. the vṛtti, "ete kyabantāḥ saṁjñāyām nipātyante. gupeḥ kyaP ādikatvaṁ ca dhen'rthe gopāyyati taditi kupyyaṁ dhanam gopāyyamanyat, bhiderujjheśca nade'bhidheye kyaP ujjherdhatvaṁ ca bhinnati kulāni iti bhidyaḥ ujjhatyudakam uddhyaḥ anyatra bhettā ujjhitā. sidhitviśipuṣibhyo nakṣetre'bhidheye kyaP tviservalopaśca sidbhyanti

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217. Tripāthy Ś.N., ŚV Op.cit.p.394.

218. Śāstrī K.S. op.cit. p.126.

tveṣanti puṣyanti asminkāryānīti sidhyaḥ tiṣyaḥ puṣyaḥ anyatra sedhanaḥ , tveṣaṇaḥ , poṣaṇaḥ yujeḥkyaP gatvaṁ ca vāhane'bhidheye yuñjati taditi yugyaṁ vāhanam gajāścādi yogyamanyat ānpūrvādañjerdhṛte'rthe kyaP. āñjnatyaneneti ājyam ghṛtam āñjanamanyat sarteḥ kyaP ṛkārasyor, suvatervā kyaparāntaśca devatāyāṁ sarati suvati vā karmasu lokāniti sūryo devatā vahulādhikārānnipātanasāmarthyādvānukto'pi nipāteṣu kārakaviśeṣo[219] gamyate".

In SV, the corresponding rule is bhidyodhyaunade nipātyate. A· The author has followed P in this rule as it is known from the vṛtti. Cf. the vṛtti, "bhinnati kulamiti bhidyaḥ Ujjha utsarge ujjhati jalamiti uddhya nadaḥ nade kim bhettā ujjhitā ".[220]

In MV, the corresponding rule is V.984. The author has followed P, as it is known from the vṛtti.[221] The author has given the forms viz. bhidy and uddhya, which are formed in the process called nipātana.

In Jmv, the corresponding sūtra is not available.

puṣyasiddhyau nakṣatre P.3.1.116.

puṣyasiddhyau nakṣatre S.4.2.32.

kupyājyabhidyoddhyosidhyayugyāni nāmni C.1.1.127.

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219. HS, Op.cit. p.336.

220. Kudāl Ś, Op.cit. p.456.

221. For the vṛtti of the rule V.984, see the foot note No.211.

pusyasiddhayubhe D.2.1.96

kupyājyabhidyoddhya sidhya yugyam nāmni Ś.4.3.78

tiṣyapuṣyasiddhyā nakṣatre Bh. 1.3.162.

kupyabhidyoddhya siddhyatiṣyapuṣyayugyājājya-
suryam nāmni H.5.1.39.

gṛhyavinīyavipūyajityāsuryyam rucyāvyathya
bhidyodvyapuṣyasiddhya tiṣyājya yugya
kṛṣṭapacya kupya bhāryā. V.984.

The meaning of the rule is the word puṣya and siddhya are formed irregularly from the kyaP suffix, when they mean nakṣatra . This meaning is clear from the vṛtti cf. the vṛtti, puṣe siddheścādhikarane kyaP nipātyate nakṣatre'bhidheye, puṣyanti asminnarthāḥ iti puṣyaḥ sidhyanti asminniti siddhya nakṣatre iti kim ? poṣaṇam, sedhanam ".[222]

In KV, the corresponding sūtra is puṣya siddhyau nakṣatre S.4.2.32. The author has followed P in this rule, as it is known from the vṛtti. cf. the vṛtti, "etau nipātyate nakṣatre kartaryadhikarane vā puṇāti kāryāṇi puṣyantyasminniti vā . puṣyaḥ sādhayati kāryāṇi sidhyantyasminniti vā siddhya".[223]

In CV, the corresponding rule is C.1.1.127. In this rule the author only gives the form siddhya. The author

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222. a) Vasu S.C. Aṣṭ. Op.cit. p.392.
b) Śarmā A. Op.cit.p.202

223. Eggling J. Op.cit.p.332.

has followed the principle of P for the derivation of this word, as it is known from the vṛtti.[224] For the word puṣya, the author has ordained the rule called tiṣyapuṣyayor nakṣatre'ṇi C.5.3.154. By this rule both the word tiṣya and puṣya are formed by nipātana in the sense of nakṣatra.

In JV, the corresponding rule is puṣyasiddhyau bhe D.2.1.96 . The author has followed P in this rule as it is known from the vṛtti. Cf. the vṛtti, "puṣya siddhya ityetau nipātyate bhe'bhidheye puṣyantyasminnarthā ārabhamānānāmiti puṣyaḥ . siddhyantyasminnarthā siddhyaḥ. adhikaraṇe kyaP nipātyate nakṣatre vācye anyatra poṣaṇa sedhana iti ca bhavati.[225]

In ŚV , the corresponding rule is Ś. 4.3.78 . The author has followed P in this rule as it is known from the vṛtti.[226]

In SK, the corresponding sūtra is tiṣyapuṣyasiddhyā nakṣatre Bh. 1.3.162. In this rule author has followed P. The author has added one root tviṣ, from which isregularly the form tiṣya is available and its vakāra is elided, when it means a nakṣatra . This above statements are supported by the vṛtti, Cf. the vṛtti, "tviṣipuṣi - siddhibhyo nakṣatre'bhidheye kyab nipātyate tviservalopaśca

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224. For the vṛtti, see the foot note No.215.
225. Tripathy Ś.N. Jainendra vyākaraṇa Op.cit.p.99
226. For the vṛtti, see the foot note No.217.

tveṣanti puṣyanti puṣyanti siddhyanti cāsmin kāryāṇi tiṣyaḥ puṣyaḥ siddhyaḥ nakṣatra iti kim tveṣaṇaḥ , poṣaṇaḥ sedhanaḥ ."[227]

In HS, the corresponding rule is H.5.1.39 . In this rule, the author has added the form tiṣya, like Bh. in the sense of nakṣatra, which is formed by the process called nipātana. From the vṛtti it is clearly known that the author has followed P. Cf. the vṛtti.[228]

In SV , the corresponding rule is not available .

In MV, the corresponding rule is V.984. Like Bh and H the author has added the word tiṣya in the sense of nakṣatra and formed by the process nipātana. From vṛtti it is know that the author has followed P. cf. the vṛtti.[229]

In Jmv, the corresponding sūtra is not available.

vipūya vinīyajitya muñjokalka haliṣu	P.3.1.117.
vaunipuñbhyāṁkalkamuñjayoḥ	S.4.2.28
jityāvipūyavinīyahalimuñjakalkeṣu	C.1.1.128.
vīpūya vinīyajityāmuñjakalkahaliṣu	D.2.1.97
jivipūnyo halimuñjo kalke	Ś.4.3.80
vau nī puṇibhyāṁ kalkamuñjayoḥ	Bh.1.3.167.

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227. Śāstrī K.S., Op.cit. p.126.

228. For the vṛtti see the foot note No.219.

229. For the vṛtti of the sūtra V.984. see the foot note No. 211.

jayater halau Bh.1.3.166.

jivipunyohalimuñja kalke H.5.1.43.

gṛhya vinīya vipūya jityāsūryyarucyavyāthya-
bhidyodvyapuṣya siddhya tiṣyājya yugya
kṛtpacya kupya bhāryāḥ V.984.

The meaning of the rule is the word vipūya, vinīya and jityā are irregularly formed by the kyaP suffix, when they mean the muñja grass, kalka (triphalā auṣadha), and hali (plough) respectively. If these words will not mean the above meaning, then the regular forms will be vipāvyam, vineyam and jeyam . cf. the vṛtti "vipūya vinīya jitya ityete śabdā nipātyante yathāsaṅkhyaṁ muñja kalka hali ityetesvartheṣu vodheṣu "[230]

In KV, the corresponding rule is vau nipuñbhyāṁ kalkamuñjayoḥ S.4.2.28. The author has followed P in this rule but the only difference is that he has left here the word jityā and only mentioned two words like vipūya and vinīyas as it is know from the vṛtti. Cf. the vṛtti, "vāvupade nipuñbhyāṁ kalkamuñjayorarthayoḥ kyabbhavati yathāsaṁkhyam ".[231]

In CV, the corresponding rule is jityāvipūyavinīyahali-muñjakalkeṣu C.1.1.128. In this rule the author has followed

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230. a) Vasu S.C. Aṣṭ. Op.cit. P.393.
b) Śarmā A.,Op.cit. p.202.

231. Eggling, J. Op.cit. p.331.

P. as it is known from the vṛtti Cf. the vṛtti, "jityā dayo halyādiṣvartheṣu nipātyante jityā haliḥ, jeyamanyat vipūyomuñjaḥ vipāvyamanyat, vinīyaḥ kalkaḥ vineyamanyat."[232]

In JV, the corresponding rule is vipūyavinīyajityamuñja kalka haliṣu . D.2.1.97. The author has followed P in this rule as it is known from the vṛtti. Cf. the vṛtti, "vipūya vinīya jityā ityete śabdā nipātyante yathā saṁkhyam muñja-kalka hali ityeteṣu vācyeṣu ".[233]

In ŚV, the corresponding rule is jivipuñyohalimuñja kalke Ś.4.3.80. In this rule the author has not followed P, so far as the derivation of the forms are concerned. P and all the post paninian grammarians mentioned above have derived these forms by nipātana procedure, where as Ś, has derived these forms by the regular formative procedure; as vi + pū + ya (kyaP) = vipūya etc. The meaning of this rule in this grammar is the kyaP suffixes will be applied to the roots ji, pū and ni having vi as upasarga in karmavācya when the meaning is hali,muñja and kalka cf. the vṛtti, " ji itye tasmādvipūrvābhyām pu ni etyetābhyām ca dhātubhyām yathāsaṁkhyam halimuñja kalkeṣu karmaṣu vācyeṣu kyaP pratyayo bhavati.[234] The author differs from P here as both of them have different ways for the derivation of the forms.

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232. Chatterji K.C, Op.cit.p.45.

233. Tripāthy Ś.N. JV, Op.cit. p.99.

234. Tripāthy Ś.N., ŚV, Op.cit. p.394.

In SK, we find two corresponding rules, i.e. jayater-halau Bh.1.3.166 and vau ni puṅibhyāṁ kalkamuñjayoḥ Bh.1.3.16ȶ. The question comes in mind why the author has supplied two corresponding rule for the single rule of P. He could have easily combined these two and made it one. The answer of the above problem is very easy, when one goes through the vṛtti of the two rules. In SK, the form jitya is derived by the process called nipātana where as vipūya and vinīya are derived by the regular formative procedure. So, Bh has followed P so far as the form jitya is concerned and disagreed with him so far as the forms vīpūya and vinīya are concerned. Conversly, he has followed Ś, so far as the forms vipūya and vinīya are concerned and disagreed with him so far as the form jitya is concerned. These statements are based on the vṛtti of the sūtra. Cf. the vṛtti, "jayater halāvabhidheye kyaP nipātyate . jitya haliḥ jeyamanyat. "[235] (Bh.1.3.166) and "vāvupapade nīpuṅbhyāṁ yathāsaṅkhyaṁ kalkamuñjayorarthyoḥ kyaP pratyayo bhavati, vinīyaḥ kalkaḥ vineyamanyat. vipūyo muñjaḥ vipāvya manyat ".[236]

In HS, the corresponding rule is jivipnyohalimuñjokalki H.5.1.43. In this rule the author has followed Ś.

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235. Śāstrī K.S., Op.cit. p.126.

236. Ibid. p.127.

because here all these three forms are derived by the regular formative procedure as these are in SV. The author differs from P because these three forms are derived by the process called nipātana in paninian system. Cf. the vṛtti, " jayatervipūrvābhyāṁ ca punībhyāṁ yathāsaṅkhyaṁ halimuñjakalkeṣu karmasu vācyeṣu kyaP pratyayo bhavati".[237]

In SV, the corresponding rule is not available.

In MV, the corresponding rule is V.984. In this rule the author has followed P as it is known from the vṛtti.[238] The author has described the rule in a concise manner.

In Jmv, the corresponding rule is not available.

pratyapibhyāṁ graheośchandasi	P.3.1.118.
graho'pi pratibhyāṁ vā	S.4.2.26
kṛvṛsamṛsamṛjaguhaduhaśansasambhṛpratyapi-grahovā -	V.983.

This is a rule which gives formations of the vedic languages. As most of the post-paninian grammarians have not mentioned the vedic rules and forms we do not get the corresponding rules in their grammar. However, KV and MV have given the corresponding rules.

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237. Cf. HS. Op.cit.p.237.

238. For the vṛtti of the sūtra V.984, see the foot note No.211.

The meaning of the rule is the root grah preceded by the prepositions prati and api will take the kyaP suffix in vedic language, We find the usage in the vedic literature as mattasya na pratigṛhyam, tasmānnāpigṛhyam. In classical literature the forms will be pratigrāhyam and apigrāhyam. Cf. the vṛtti of the above sūtra, "prati api ityevampūrvād graheḥ kyaP pratyayo bhavati-cchandasi viṣaye mattasya na pratigṛhyam (K.S.14.5), tasmānnāpigṛhyam (K.5.27.3), cchandasi iti kim ? pratigrāhyam apigrāhyam". [239]

In KV, the corresponding rule is graho'pi pratibhyām vā. S.4.2.26, . In this rule the author has taken these forms optionally. The KyaP and ṆyaT suffix will be applied optionally to the root grah, when api and prati prepositions preced. cf. the vṛtti, "api pratibhyām parād graheḥ kyap bhavati vā api gṛhyam apigrāhyam pratigṛhyam pratigrāhyam " [240] If we study minutely, we can very well understand that the author has not exactly followed P. Because P has clearly mentioned that pratigṛhyam and apigṛhyam will be only in vedic literature and pratigrāhyam and apigrāhyam is in clasical teachure. But in KV, these forms are given in optionally. So far as the derivations of these forms are concerned both of them differ.

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239. a) Vasu S.C., Ast. Op.cit. p.393.
b) Śarmā A, Op.cit. p.202.

240. Eggling J, Op.cit. p.330.

In MV , the corresponding rule is kṛvṛsamṛjaguhaduha śansasaṁbhṛ pratyāpigraho vā V.983. In this rule the author has taken these forms optionally. Like S he has not mentioned anything regarding the vedic forms. Because both of them have not dealt with the vedic languages. What he says is that the root grah will take kyaP suffix optionally when prati and api precedes. Cf. the vṛtti.[241] Both S and V have mentioned these forms optionally, but they have not mentioned that these forms will be available in vedic languages.

All other grammars have not contained the corresponding sūtras to this rule.

padasvairibhyā-pakṣeṣu ca	P.3.1.119.
padapakṣayośca	S.4.2.27.
padāsvairipaksabāhyāṣu grahaḥ	C.1.1.129
padāsvairibāhyāpakṣeṣu ca	D.2.1.89
grahaḥ padāsvairibāhyā pakṣe	Ś.4.3.81
padāsvairipaksabāhyāṣu grahaḥ	Bh.1.3.168
padāsvairibāhyāpakṣye grahaḥ	H.5.1.44.
gṛhyavinīya vipūyajtyāsūryyarūcyāvyathyya bhidyodyavyapuṣya siddhya tiṣyājya yugya kṛṣtapacya kupya bhāryā	V.984.

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241. For the vṛtti of the sūtra V.983, see the footnote No.201.

The meaning of the sūtra is the root grah takes the kyaP suffix, when it means a pada, asvairi, vāhya or pakṣa Cf. the vṛtti, "pade asvairiṇi bāhyāyāṁ pakṣe cārthe grahedhātoḥ kyaP pratyayo bhavati, pade tāvat pragṛhyaṁ padam, yasya pragṛhyasaṁjñā vartate. asvairi paratantra gṛhyakāime bāhyāyāṁ grāmagṛhyā senā, nagaragṛhyā senā. grāmanagarabhyāṁ vahirbhutā ityarthaḥ strīliṅganirdeśādanyatra na bhavati pakṣe bhava pakṣa vāsudevagṛhyāḥ, arjunagṛhyāḥ tatpakṣāśritā ityarthaḥ "[242]

In KV, the corresponding rule is S.4.2.27. The author has followed P, as it is known from the vṛtti " pakṣe bhavaḥ pakṣo vargaḥ padapakṣyayor arthayorgraheḥ kyab bhavati padagṛhyaṁ padam yat svarena na saṁdhīyate avagṛhyaṁ padaṁ yasyāvagrahaḥ kriyate pakṣe'rjunagṛhyā senā cakārād asvairiṇi bāhyāyāṁ cārthe gṛhyakāime avaruddhako ityarthaḥ grāmagṛhyāstrī grāmabāhyeti arthaḥ "[243]

In CV, the corresponding rule is C.1.1.29. The author has followed P in this rule as it is known from the vṛtti, Cf. the vṛtti, "padādiṣvartheṣu grahaḥ kyaP bhavati pragṛhyaṁ padam, yadaci na saṁdhīyate avagṛhyampadam yasyāvagrahaḥ kriyate asvairiṣu gṛhyakā ime avaruddhakā ityarthaḥ pakṣayeṣu arjunagṛhyāḥ bāhyāyāṁ grāma gṛhyā strī."[244]

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242. a) Vasu S.C. Aṣṭ.Op.cit.p.393.
b) Śarmā A. Op.cit. p.203.

243. Boehling J, Op.cit.p.331.

244. Chatterji K.P.Op.cit. p.45.

In JV, the corresponding sūtra is D.2.1.98. In this rule the author has followed P, as it is known from the vṛtti, Cf. the vṛtti, "pade asvairiṇi bāhyāyām pakṣe cārthe graherdhoḥ kyabbhavati. pragṛhyate iti pragṛhyam padam, avagṛhyam padam. asvairī paravaśaḥ gṛhyakā ime. anukampāyām kaḥ paratantrā ityarthaḥ bahirbhavā bāhyā. gṛhyate iti gṛhyāḥ, grāmasya gṛhyā grāmagṛhyā nagaragṛhyā senātābhyām bahirbhūtā ityārthaḥ strīliṅgādanyatra na bhavati pakṣe bhavaḥ pakṣyaḥ bharatagṛhyaḥ bhujabali-gṛhyaḥ tatpakṣya ityarthaḥ"[245]

In ŚV, the corresponding rule is Ś.4.3.81. The author has also followed P as it is known from the vṛtti. Cf. the vṛtti, "subantam padam svayamirta(yarti) iti svairī svatantraḥ asvairī paratantraḥ bāhyā bahirbhavāḥ pakṣyo vargyaḥ eteṣu graheḥ kyaP pratyayo bhavati ghyaṇo'-pavādaḥ pade-pragṛhyam avagṛhyam padam, asvairiṇi-gṛhyakā ime gṛhitakāḥ bāhyāyām grāmagṛhyā strī nagaragṛhyā senā, bahirbhutetyarthaḥ bāhyeti strīliṅganir-deśāllingāntare na bhavati, pakṣe tvadgṛhyo, madgṛhyo guṇagṛhyā vacane vipaśutaḥ tatpakṣāśritā ityarthaḥ. anyatra grāhyam.[246]

In SK, the corresponding sūtra is Bh.1.3.168. In this rule the author has followed P, as it is known from the

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245. Tripāthy Ś.N. JV, Op.cit.p.99.

246. Tripāthy Ś.N. ŚV, Op.cit. pp.394-395.

vṛtti. Cf. the vṛtti," grahergdhātoḥ padādisvartheṣu kyappratyayo bhavati praghṛyaṁ padaṁ yadapi na sandhīyate avagṛhyaṁ , yasyāvagrahaḥ pṛthagbhāvaḥ kriyate aṣvairī paratantraḥ : gṛhyakā ime pakṣe bhavaḥ pakṣyaḥ arjuna-gṛhyāḥ vāsudevagṛhyāḥ bahirbhavā bāhyā nagaragṛhyā senā grāmagṛhyā śreniḥ padādiṣviti kim grāhyaḥ ".[247]

In HS, the corresponding rule is M.5.1.44. In this rule the author has just followed P as it is known from the vṛtti. Cf. the vṛtti, "vibhaktyantaṁ padam aṣvairī paratantraḥ bāhyā bahirbhavā pakṣyo vargyaḥ eṣvartheṣu grahaḥ kyaP bhavati ghyaṇo'pavādaḥ "[248]

In SV, the corresponding rule is not available.

In MV, the corresponding rule is V.984. In this rule the author has not followed P as it is known from the vṛtti.[249] This rule corresponds to this and some other rules in P's grammar. The author has derived these forms by the procedure called nipātana but in P's grammar these forms are derived by the gegular formative procedure. So from this point of view the author differs from P.

In Jmv, the corresponding rule is not available.

vibhāṣā kṛvṛṣaḥ	P.3.1.120.
kṛvṛṣi mṛjāmvā	S.4.2.29

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247. Śāstrī K.S.Op.cit. p.127.

248. HS, Op.cit. pp.336-337.

249. For the vṛtti of the rule V.98 see the foot note No.211.

kṛvṛsimṛjiśaṃsiduhiguhaḥ	C.1.1.125.
kṛvṛsimṛjāṃ yaśobhadrasya	D.2.1.99.
kṛmṛjvṛśaśaṃsaguhaduhajapaḥ	Ś.4.3.84
kṛvṛsimṛjiśaṃsa duhiguhi bhyaḥ	Bh.1.3.167
kṛvṛsimṛjiśaṃsiguhiduhijapovā	H.5.1.42.
kṛvṛsayor vā -A	
kṛvṛsamṛjaguhaduha śaṅgasambhṛ	
pratyapigrahovā	V.983
kṛñstutvā	J.201.

The meaning of the rule is the root kṛñ and vṛṣ optionally takes the kyaP suffix. The root kṛ would have taken the ṆyaT suffix by the rule ṛhalorṇyat P.3.1.124 and the verb vṛṣ would necessarily have taken kyaP suffix by P.3.1.110. So thats why the present sūtra declares an optional rule. Thus we got the optional forms kṛtyaṃ or kāryaṃ, vṛṣyaṃ or vārṣyaṃ Cf. the vṛtti, "kṛñovṛṣaśca vibhāṣā kyaP pratyayo bhavati karoteṇyati prāpte varṣateḥ ṛdupadhatvāt nitye kyapi prāpte vibhāṣārabhyate".[250]

In KV the corresponding rule is kṛvṛsimṛjāṃ vā. Sar.4.2.29. In this rule the author has followed P as it is known from the vṛtti.[251]

In CV the corresponding rule is kṛvṛsimṛjiśaṃsiduhi puhaḥ C.1.1.125. The author has followed P in this rule as it is known from the vṛtti.[250] This rule corresponds this and the rule P.3.1.113.

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250. a) Vāsu S.C. Aṣṭ. Op.cit.p.394. b) Śarmā A.Op.cit.p.203.

251. For the vṛtti see the foot note No.194.

In JV, the corresponding rule is kṛvṛsimṛjāṁ yaśobhadrasya D.2.1.99. The rule means the root kṛ, vṛṣ and mṛj will take the kyaP suffix optionally according to Ācārya Yaśobhadra. But in regular procedure the ṆyaT suffix will be applied. In this rule the author has followed P as it is known from the vṛtti.[253]

In ŚV , the corresponding rule is Ś.4.3.84. The author has followed p as it is known from the vṛtti.[254]

In SK, the corresponding rule is Bh. 1.3.157. The author has followed P as it is known from the vṛtti.[255] The author has neither added any thing nor made any change.

In HS the corresponding rule is H.5.1.42. In this rule the author has followed P as it is known from the vṛtti.[256]

In SV, the corresponding rule is kṛvṛsayorvā kyaP. The author has followed P as it is known from the vṛtti. The author has not given any explanation of the forms. Only he has given the forms . Cf. the vṛtti, "kriyate tat kṛtyaṁ kartuṁ yogyaṁ kāryaṁ. vṛṣa vṛṣṭau vṛṣyaṁ, varṣyaṁ."[257]

In MV the corresponding rule is V.983. In this rule the author has followed P as it is known from the vṛtti.[258]

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253. For the Vṛtti see the foot note No.196.
254. For the vṛtti see the foot note No.197
255. For the vṛtti see the foot note No.198.
256. For the vṛtti see the foot note No.199
257. Kudāl S. Op.cit. p.456.

In MV the corresponding rule is V.983. In this rule the author has followed P as it is known from the vṛtti.[258]

In Jmv. the corresponding rule is kṛñstutvā J.201. In this rule the author has followed P as it is known from the vṛtti. Cf. the vṛtti, " kṛ dhātoḥ uttare strīyāṁ bhāve kartṛvarjite saṁjñāyāṁ kyo bhavati tuk ca vā bhavati kṛtyā kṛīya[259]. In this rule the author has only given the root kṛ.

yugyaṁ ca patre	P.3.1.121.
yugyaṁ patre	S.4.2.33
kupyājyabhidyoddhyayugyānināmni	C.1.1.127
yugyaṁ patre	D.2.1.100
kupyājyaobhidyoddhyasiddhyayugyaṁ nāmni	Ś.4.3.78
yugyaṁ ca patre	Bh.1.3.163.
kupyabhidyoddhyasidhyatiṣyapuṣyayugyājya-sūryanāmni	H.5.1.39.
gṛhya vinīya vipūyajityāsūryyarūcyāvyathya-bhidyodvyapuṣya siddhya tiṣyājyayugya kṛṣṭa pacya kupya bhāryā.	V.984.

The meaning of the rule is the word yugyaṁ is irregularly formed by the kyaP suffix in the sense of a vehicle. The word patra means that by which something

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258. For the vṛtti see the foot note No.201.

259. Rath C.S. Op.cit.p.442.

is carried. cf. the vṛtti ," yugyamiti nipātyate patraṁ ced bhavati patatyanena iti patraṁ vāhanamucyate yugyo gauḥ yugyo'śvaḥ yugyo hastā yugeḥ kyaP kutvaṁ ca nipātyate. patre iti kim. yogyaṁ anyat" [260] The ca in the sūtra indicates the nipātana of two things i) kutva, (ii) the suffix kyaP.

In KV the corresponding sūtra is yugyaṁ patre S.4.2.33. The author has followed P as it is known from the vṛtti. Cf. the vṛtti, "yugyamiti nipātyate patre vāhane'rthe yujyate'neneti yujyata iti vā yugyaṁ" [261].

In CV, the corresponding rule is C.1.1.127. The author has followed P. in this sūtra as it is known from the vṛtti.[262]

In Jv the corresponding sūtra is yugyaṁ patre D.2.1.100. From the vṛtti, it is known that the author has followed P cf. the vṛtti, "patati aneneti patraṁ vāhanam; tasminnarthe yugyamiti nipātyate yujyate iti yugyo'śvaḥ yugyo gauḥ kyaP kutvaṁ ca nipātyate patrādanyatra yogyamiti ".[263]

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260. a) Vasu S.C., Aṣṭ. Op.cit.P.394.
b) Śarmā A, Op.cit. p.203.

261. Eggling J, Op.cit. p.332.

262. For the vṛtti see the foot note No.215.

263. Tripāthy Ś.N. JV, Op.cit. p.99.

In ŚV, the corresponding rule is Ś.4.3.78. This rule corresponds to this rule as well as some other rules in P's grammar. The author has followed P as it is known from the vṛtti.[264]

In SK, the corresponding rule is yuqyaṁ ca patre Bh.1.3.163. From the vṛtti it is known that the author has followed P Cf. the vṛtti "yujaḥ kyaP kutvaṁ ca nipātyate patre vāhane abhidheye yuñjati taditi yuqyaṁ vāhanaṁ gajāśvādiḥ yoqyamanyat".[265]

In HS, the corresponding rule is H.5.1.39. This sūtra corresponds to this and some other rules in Aṣṭ. From the vṛtti[266] it is clear that the author has followed P.

In ŚV, the corresponding sūtra is not available. In MV, the corresponding rule is V.984. This rule corresponds to this and some other rules of Aṣṭ. In this rule the author has not explained the forms more clearly, rather he has given simple the meaning of the forms. From the vṛtti[267] it is clear that the author has followed P.

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264. For the vṛtti see the foot note No.217.
265. Śāstrī K.S. Op.cit. p.126
266. For the vṛtti see the foot note No. 219.
267. For the vṛtti, see the foot No. 211.

In Jmv. the corresponding rule is not available.

smāvasyādanyatarasyām	P.3.1.122.
smāvāsyā vā	S.4.2.45.
smāvaso vā	C.1.1.134.
smāvasyā vā	D.2.1.103.
vādhāre'māvasyā	Ś.4.3.63
smāvaso'dhikaraṇenidvā	Bh.1.3.174.
vādhāre'māvasyā	H.5.1.21
pāyyadhāyya praṇāyyānāyya kundapāyya saṁcāyya rājasūya sannāyya, nikāyya paricāyyopacāyye cityāgnicityā samūhyā-māvasyāmāvāsyā vājyaḥ	V.975.

The meaning of the rule is the word smāvasyā and smāvāsyā[268] are formed optionally from the root vas having smā as upapada by the ṆyaT suffix when it means the location of time. In regular procedure we get the form smāvāsyā and optionally the form smāvasyā is available where the vṛddhi is not available for nipātana. Cf. the vṛtti, " smāśabdaḥ sahārthe varttate, tasmin upapade vaserdhātoḥ kāle'dhikaraṇe ṇyatpratyayo bhavati tatrānyatarasyām vṛddhyābhāvo nipātyate saha vasato'smin kāle suryacandramasau iti smāvāsyā, smāvasyā".[269]

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268. For the different type of study of the word smāvāsyā Cf. Balasubramanyam M.D.," Smāvasyā : an accentual study". JUP.: (Humanities)pp.1.25.1968

269. a) Vasu S.C., Ast.Op.cit.p.394.
b) Sarma A.Op.cit. p.203.

In KV, the corresponding rule is S.4.2.45. In this rule the author has followed P, as it is known from the vṛtti, Cf. the vṛtti, "sneha sahārthe sāpurvād vasaterghyañi kālādhikarane dirghā bhāvo nipātuyatevā sahavasato'syām candrārkā viti. sāvasyā sāvāsyā tithih "[270]

In CV, the corresponding rule is C.1.1.134. In this rule the author has not followed P. Because he has given these forms optionally sāvāsyā by the ṆyaT suffix and sāvasyā by the yaT suffix, which differs from paninian description as it is known from the vṛtti cf. the vṛtti, "sāpūrvād vasaternyad bhavati vā saha vasato'syām candrārkāvityamavāsyāsāvasyā. ṇyatā mukte yad bhavati".[271]

Here both of the forms are regular, where as the form sāvasyā is a nipātita form in Aṣṭ.

In JV, the corresponding rule is D.2.1.103. In this rule the author has not followed the paninian principle. The author has taken both of the forms as the nipātita forms. According to him in some places it is sāvasyā and in some places specially in Orissa, it is sāvāsyā. But both of the forms sāvasyā and

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270. Eggling J, Op.cit. p.335.

271. Chatterji K.C., Op.cit. pp.46-47.

amāvāsyā are derived by the process called nipātana, as it is known from the vṛtti Cf. the vṛtti, " amāvasyā iti vā pradeśo nipātyate. amā vasataḥ sūryācandram - asāvasyām amāvasyā. amāvāsyā amāśabde sahārthe vāci vaseradhikaraṇe'rthe ṇyo vibhāṣayā uḍaḥ prādeśaśca nipātyate pradeśeṣu ekadeśa vikṛtasya grahaṇārtham.[272] In this rule D differs from P. Because here both of the forms are nipātita, where as in Aṣṭ. only amāvasyā form is nipātita.

In Śv, the corresponding rule is Ś.4.3.63. In this rule the author has followed, P, as it is known from the vṛtti. Cf. the vṛtti, " amāpūrvād vasaterādhāre ghyaṇ pratyayayaḥ dhātoḥ pakṣe hrasvaśca nipātyate amāvasato' syām tithau suryācandramasau iti amāvasyā amāvāsyā vā tithiviśeṣavacanau amāvāsyāśabdasaiva pakṣe harsvanipāta-nādekadeśavikṛtasyānanyatvād vāścāmavasyāyā ityatra amāvāsyā grahanenāmāvasyāśabdasyāpi grahaṇam "[273]

In SK, the corresponding rule is Bh.1.3.174. In this rule the author has followed P. as it is known from the vṛtti, Cf. the vṛtti "amāpūrvāt vaseradhikaraṇe ṇyat pratyayo bhavativā cāsyaṇitvam amā saha vasato'syām sūryācandramasāviti amāvasyā amāvāsyā.[274]

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272. Tripāthy Ś.N. JV ,Op.cit. pp.99-100.

273. Tripāthy Ś.N. Śv. Op.cit. p.393.

274. Śāstrī K.S.,Op.cit. p.128.

In HS , the corresponding rule is H.5.1.21. From the vṛtti it is obvious that the author has followed the paninian principle for derivations of the forms amāvasyā and amāvāsyā . Cf. the vṛtti, "amāpūrvādvasateḥ ādhāre ghyañ pratyayo dhātoḥ pakṣe hrasvaśca nipātyate amā-śabdaḥ sahārthaḥ sahavasato'syām sūryacandramasāviti amāvasyā amāvāsyā vā rūḍhyā tithiviśeṣaḥ "[275]

In SV, the corresponding sūtra is not available.

In MV , the corresponding rule is V.975. This rule corresponds to this and also some other rules in Aṣṭ. The author has taken the form of this rule as irregular formations. In the vṛtti no clear explanation is given . From the vṛtti[276] it is obvious that the author has not followed P, so far as the derivation of the forms are concerned. Because here the author has derived these forms irregularly where as P has described the form amāvāsyā in regular formative procedure and amāvasya by nipātena.

In Jmv. the corresponding rule is J.174. In this rule the author has halfly followed P. So far as the form amāvāsyā is concerned he agrees with P and disagrees with P in the case amāvasyā. According to J, the form amāvasyā will be derived by the yaÑ in the regular formative procedure. But P has formed this word when the vṛddhi is

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275. HS Op.cit.p.334.
276. For the vṛtti of the sūtra V.975 , see the foot note No.211.

Optionally ceased by the nipātana.

According to J the form amāvāsyā
= amā + vas + Ṇya
the form amāvasyā = amā + vas + yaṄ

From the vṛtti it is clearly known Cf. the vṛtti " amā iti avyayam (saha ityarthaḥ) amāśabdapūrvāt vas dhātoḥ adhikaraṇe vācye ṇya yaṅ ca bhavati. amā (saha) candrasūryayau vasataḥ asyāṁ tithau iti amāvāsyā. (ṇyapakṣe vṛddhiḥ strīyāṁ āt ca)".[277]

Cchandasi niṣṭarkya devahūyapraṇīyonnīyo cchiṣya maryastaryādhva khanyakhānvadevayajyāpṛcchya-pratiṣivyabrahmavādya bhāvyastāvyopacāyyaprdāni-

P.3.1.123

This rule gives a list of vedic forms.Not a single grammarian after P has discussed vedic forms in their grammars. So fer this reason we do not find any corresponding sūtra of this rule.

The rule means these words like niṣṭarkya, devahūyaḥ praṇīyaḥ , unnīyaḥ , ucchiṣyaḥ , maryaḥ, staryē dhvaryaḥ khanyā, khānyaḥ, devayajyāḥ apṛcchyaḥ pratiṣīvyaḥ , brahmavādyam, bhāvyam, stāvyaḥ , upacāyyaprdam are the nipātita forms found only in veda. Cf. the vṛtti,

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277. Rath C.S. Op.cit. p.437.

"niṣṭarkādayaḥ śabdāḥ cchandasi viṣaye nipātyate".[278]

In the vārttika it is said that when the meaning is gold, the form will be upacāyyaprḍam, otherwise the form will be upaceyyaprḍam

ṛhalorṇyat	P.3.1.124.
ṛvarṇavyañjanāntād ghyaṇ	S.4.2.35
ṛhalonyat	C.1.1.130
Ṇyaḥ	D.2.1.101.
GHyaṆ	Ś.4.3.60
ṛhalorṇyat	Bh.1.3.169
ṛhaśāt GHyaṆ	A.
ṛvarṇavyañjanād GHyaṆ	M.5.1.17
haṛyavāśoḥ	V.971
ṛhalonyaḥ	J.165

The meaning of the rule is the ṆyaT suffix comes after averb which ends in ṛ or in a consonant cf. the vṛtti , "ṛvarṇāntāddhātorhalantāccanyatpratyayo bhavati"[279] So we get the form kārya , hārya ,dhārya etc.

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278. a) Vasu S.C., Aṣṭ. op.cit. p.395.
b) Śarmā A., Op.cit. pp.203-204.

279. a) Vasu S.C. Aṣṭ.loc.cit. pp.395-396.
b) Śarmā, A. loc.cit. p.204.

The corresponding rule in KV is S.4.2.35. From the vṛtti,, it is known that the author has followed P. Cf. the vṛtti, "ṛvarṇāntād vyañjanāntācca dhātorghyaṆ pratyaya bhavati śṛ śaryyam, pākyam vākyam ".[280]

In CV, the corresponding rule is C.1.1.130. In this rule the author has followed P as it is known from the vṛtti. Cf. the vṛtti, "ṛvarṇāntāddhalantācca kriyārthāṇ ṇyad bhavati, kāryam, hāryam pākyam, vākyam "[281]

In JV , the corresponding rule is D.2.1.101. In this rule the author has just followed P. Here the author has mentioned that this rule is general rule and ajantādyaḥ and kyaP are two apavāda rule of this sūtra. cf. the vṛtti , "ṇyo ityaṁ tyo bhavati dhoḥ ayamutsargaḥ ajantādyaḥ kyaP cā syāpavādaḥ kāryam, haryam, pākyam, pāthyam ".[282]

In śV, the corresponding rule is Ś.4.3.60. In this rule the author has followed P as it is known from the vṛtti. Cf. the vṛtti, "dhātorghyaṇ pratyayo bhavati kāryam, hāryam, pākyam, pāthyam".[283]

In Sk, the corresponding rule is Bh.1.3.169. In this rule the author has followed P as it is known from the vṛtti.

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280. Eggling J. Op.cit. p.333.

281. Chatterji K.C. Op.cit. p.46.

282. Tripāthy Ś.N. JV, Op.cit. p.99.

283. Tripāthy Ś.N., śV , Op.cit. p.392.

Cf. the vṛtti, "ṛvarṇāntaddhalantātcca dhātorbhāvakarmaṇo vahulaṁ ṇyatpratyayo bhavati kāryyam hāryam, pākyam vākyam ".[284]

In HS, the corresponding rule is H.5.1.17. In this rule the author has followed P as it is known from the vṛtti. Cf. the vṛtti, "ṛvarṇāntād vyañjanāntācca dhātorghyaṇ pratyayobhavati hāryam, kāryam, vākyam ".[285]

The corresponding rule in SV is ṛhasāt ĞHyaÑ A. The author has followed P in this rule as it is known from the vṛtti. cf. the vṛtti,"ṛvarṇātād hasantācca dhātorghyaṇ pratyayo bhavati bhāvādau".[286]

In MV, the corresponding rule is V.971. From the vṛtti it is known that the author has followed P. Cf. the vṛtti, "hasantāt ṛvarṇāntāt yauterā ṇoteśca ghyaṇ syāt ḍha bhāve. bāhyaṁ ghātyaṁ jayaṁ badhyaṁ kāryyaṁ yāvyaṁ āsāvyaṁ".[287]

In Jmv, the corresponding rule is J.165. In this rule the author has followed P as it is known from the vṛtti. Cf. the vṛtti, " ṛdantāt halantātcca dhātoruttare bhāve karmaṇi vācyye ṇyobhavati ṇit kāryārthaḥ kāryam tāryyam, dhāryyam".[288]

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284. Śāstrī K.S., Op.cit. 285. HS Op.cit. p.333
286. Kudāl Ś , Op.cit pp.452-453.
287. Bhattācārya J.V., Op.cit.p.727.
288. Rath C.S. Op.cit.p.435.

Orāvaśyake	P.3.1.125.
uvarṇādāvaśyake	S.4.2.37
orāvaśyake	C.1.1.132.
orāvaśyake	S.4.3.62
orāvaśyake	Bh 1.3.172
uvarṇādāvaśyake	A
ghyaṇ oravaśyake	V.970
udantādāvaśyake	J.173.

The meaning of the rule is the roots ending in u takes NyaT suffix when the meaning is āvaśyaka. This rule debars the application of YaT suffix, Cf. the vrtti "uvarṇāntāddhātorṇyat pratyaya bhavati āvaśyake dyote.[289] If the sense is not āvaśyaka, then yaT suffix will be applied.

In KV, the corresponding rule is S.4.2.37. In this rule the author has followed P as it is known from the vrtti, "avaśyaṁ bhāva āvaśyakaṁ uvarṇāntād dhātoravaśyaṁ bhāve gamyamāne ghyaṇ bhavati bhāvyaṁ lābhyaṁ avaśyaṁlāvyaṁ lavyamanyat "[290]

In CV, the corresponding rule is C.1.1.132. In this rule the author has followed P as it is known from the

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289. a) Vasu, S.C., Ast. Op.cit. p.396.
b) Śarmā A. Op.cit. p.204.

290. Eggling J, Op.cit. p.333

vṛtti. cf. the vṛtti, "uvarṇāntādavaśyambhāve ṇyamāne ṇyad bhavati ṭāvyam avaśyaṭāvyam labyamanyat."[291]

In JV, the corresponding rule is D.2.1.103. From the vṛtti of the sūtra it is clearly known that the author has followed P in this sūtra. Cf. the vṛtti, uvarṇāntāddhorṇyo bhavatyāvaśyake dyotye avaśyamityasya bhāvaḥ āvaśyakam manojñāditvād vuñ ṭāvyam pāvyam yadyāvaśyake'rthe'vasyaṭavyamiti kathaṁ savidhiḥ mayuravyaṁsa kāditvādvibhāsayā āvaśyaka iti kim ? lavyam, pavyam.[292]

The corresponding rule in ŚV is Ś.4.3.68. In this rule the author has followed P as it is known from the vṛtti. Cf. the vṛtti, "uvarṇāntāddhātoravaśyabhāve dyotye ghyaṇpratyayo bhavati, yāpavādaḥ lāvyam lāvyamavaśyam avaśyalāvyam pāvyam. pāvyamavaśyam, avaśyapāvyam samāso mayuravyaṁsakāditvāt lavyam pavyam avaśyastutya ityatra paratvātkyabbhavati."[293]

The author has said in the vṛtti that if there will no sense of āvaśyaka then kyaP suffix will be applied but P has prescribed YaT suffix in the absense of avaśyaka sense.

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291. Chatterji K.C. Op.cit. p.46.

292. Tripāthy Ś.N. JV, Op.cit.p.99.

293. Tripāthy Ś.N. ŚV Op.cit. p.392.

In SK, the corresponding rule is Bh. 1.3.172. In this rule the author has followed P as it is known from the vṛtti Cf. the vṛtti "avaśyambhāva āvaśyakam manojñāditvāt vuñ. tasmin gamyamāne uvarnāntād dhātorbhāva-karmanorarthayornyatpratyayo bhavati, yato'pavādaḥ.bhavyam avaśyabhāvyam .lavyam avaśyalāvyam, supsupe'ti samāsaḥ kṛte'vaśyam iti malopaḥ "[294]

In HS, the corresponding rule is H.5.1.19. From the vṛtti it is clearly known that the author has followed the paninian principle for the derivation of the forms in this sūtra Cf. the vṛtti, "avaśyasya bhāvo'vaśyambhāva iti vā akañi āvaśyakam tasmindyote uvarnāntāddhātorghyaṇ bhavati lāvyam pāvyam. yanniyogat kartavyam arthaprakaraṇā dinā niścitam tatrāyaṁ pratyayaḥ lāvyamavaśyam pāvyamavaśyam avaśyalābvyam avaśyapāvyam atrāvaśyamśabde-nāpi avaśyambhāve dyotyate mayuravyaṁsakāditvācca samāsaḥ avaśyastutya iti paratvāt kyaP. āvaśyaka iti kim ? lavyam, pavyam.[295]

Like Ś. here the author also has applied kyaP suffix in the absense of āvaśyaka sense, whereas P has applied yaT suffix.

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294. Śāstrī K.S., Op.cit. p.127.

295. HS Op.cit. pp.333-334.

In SV, the corresponding rule is Orāvaśyake ghyan In this rule the author has followed P as it is known from the vṛtti. Cf. the vṛtti, "uvarnāntāddhātorāvaśyake' rthe ghyan pratyayobhavati lūyate vā lavitum yogyah lāvyah ".[296]

In MV, the corresponding rule is V.970. In this rule the author has followed P as it is known from the vṛtti. Cf. the vṛtti, "uvarnāntādavaśyambhāve'rthe ghyan syāt bhāve vipreneśucinā bhāvyam ".[297]

In Jmv the corresponding rule is J.173. From the vṛtti of the sūtra, it is known that the author has followed P. Cf. the vṛtti, āvaśyaka gamyamāne upapade ca sati ukāranta dhātoh uttare nyo bhavati, śrāvyam. bhāvyam lāvyam avaśyaśrāvyam avaśyabhāvyam".[298]

āsuyuvapirapilapitrapicamaśca	P.3.1.126
āsu yu vapirapilapitrapicamidabhah	S.4.2.36
āsuyuvapirapilapitrapicamidabhah	C.1.1.133.
yo'co'rāsuyuvah	D.2.1.88
poraduño'trapivapirapilapicamah	D.2.1.85
pvaccattakiśakaśasiyatsahiyano'yvāsu-vaparapalapatrapadīpadabhacamuryah	Ś.4.3.68

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296. Kudal Ś, Op.cit.p.454.
297. Bhattācarya J.V. Op.cit. p.727.
298. Rath C.S., Op.cit. p.436.

nāmīdamībhyoḥ Bh. 1.3.173.

āsuyuvapi rapilapitrapidabhicamyānamaḥ H.5.1.20

puśakasaha takacatayataśaso'camavaparapalapa

trapadabhayobhajajapayajānāmastuvā V.976

The meaning of the rule is the suffix ṆyaT comes after the root asu, yu, vap , rap, lap , trap and cam . Thus we have the forms āsāvyam, yāvyam, vāpyam, rāpyam, lāpyam, trāpyam, ācāmyam.

The ca in the sūtra indicates that the roots not enlisted in the above list should also be taken. This dabh + ṆyaT = dābhyam. The verb āsu is a compounded verb formed by the preposition āṅ and the root su. This sūtra debars the suffix yaT otherwise it would have come by the sūtra aco yaT P.3.1.97. Cf. the vṛtti, "āṅ pūrvaka sunoteḥ yu vapi rapi lapi trapi cam ityetebhyaśca ṇyat pratyayo bhavati"[299] yato'pavādaḥ āsāvyam yāvyam vāpyam, rāpyam lāpyam, trāpyam. ācāmyam anuktasamuccayārthaścakāraḥ. dabhi-dābhyam".

In KV, the corresponding rule is S.4.2.36. In this rule the author has followed P as it is known from the vṛtti, cf. the vṛtti,"āṅ pūrvāt. sunoteyaurtyādibhyaśca ghyaṇ bhavati āsāvyam. yāvyam, vāpyam, rāpyam lāpyam.".[300]

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299. a) Vasu S.C., Aṣṭ.Op.cit.p.396
b) Śarmā A, Op.cit.p.205.

300. Eggling J, Op cit. p.333.

In CV, the corresponding rule is C.1.1.133. In this rule the author has followed P as it is known from the vrtti, Cf. the vrtti," ānpūrvāt sunotaryautyādibhyaśca nyad bhavati, āsāvyam yāvyam, vāpyam, rāpyam, lāpyam, abhilāpyam, apatrāpyam ācāmyam, avadābhyam".[301]

In JV, the corresponding rule is D.2.1.84 and D.2.1.85. Speaking frankly there is no direct rule in JV, which can to corresponds to P's this rule. But in the sūtras D.2.1.84 and D.2.1.85 the forms are available which are given in the rule P.3.1.126. From the vrtti[302] of these two rules it is known that the author has followed paninian procedure for the derivation of these forms. These two rules of JV are given for the YaT suffix. Some forms are given in both of the sūtras which are exception to the sūtra i.e. in which yaT suffix can not be applied. In lieu of that ṆyaT suffix will be applied. In sūtra D.2.1.84, āsāvyam, and yāvya are available and the rest forms are available in the sūtra D.2.1.85. In the case of these roots the author has not stated that the ṆyaT suffix will be applied.

Because he has not framed any direct rule for these forms . But from the available forms it is clearly known that the author has followed P.

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301. Chatterji K.C., Op.cit. p.46.
302. For the vrtti see the foot note No.52 and 61.

In ŚV, the corresponding rule is Ś.4.3.68. Like JV, we do not get any direct rule in this grammar which can correspond to this rule of P. But the forms available in this rule are stated in the rule P.3.1.126. From the vṛtti[303] of the sūtra it is known that the author has followed P.

In SK , the corresponding rule is Bh. 1.3.173. From the vṛtti it is clearly known that the author has followed P in this sūtra. Cf. the vṛtti, "āṅpūrvābhyām sunotinamibhyām yautyādibhyaśca bhāvakarmaṇornyat bhavati yato'pavādaḥ āsāvyam yāvyam vāpyam rāpyam lāpyam trāpyam ācāmyam ānāmyam ādābhyam ānāmirantarbhāvatanyarthaḥ sakarmaka. dabhi sautro vañcane vartate ".[304]

In HS, the corresponding rule is H.5.1.20 . In this rule the author has followed P as it is known from the vṛtti, Cf. the vṛtti, " āṅpūrvābhyām sunotinamibhyām yautyādibhyaśca dhātubhyo ghyaṇ bhavati yāpavādaḥ āsāvyam. yāvyam. vāpyam rāpyam lāpyam abhilāpyam apatrāpyam depyam dabhiḥ sautro vandhane vartate dābhyam avadābhyam ācāmyam - ānāmyam.[305]

In SV, the corresponding rule is not available.

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303. For the vṛtti see foot note No.53.

304. Śāstrī K.S. op.cit. pp.127-128.

305. HS Op.cit. p.334.

In MV, the corresponding rule is V.976. Like JV and ŚV, this grammar has not supplied any direct sūtra which can correspondtto this sūtra . But the forms available in this sūtra of MV is similar to the forms given in P.3.1.126. So the sūtra V.976 can be considered as the corresponding rule of P.3.1.126. In the sūtra, the author has not directly states that these roots like āsu, yu, yaP rap lap etc. will take ṆyaT suffix. But the forms available in the sūtra show that these are formed by the ṆyaT suffix as it is done by P. So the author has followed P. so far as the derivation of the forms are concerned as it is known from the vṛtti.[306]

In Jmv, the corresponding sūtra is not available.

ānāyo'nitye P.3.1.127.

prānorniyo'sammatā nityayoḥ svaravat Ś.4.2.39.

dhāyyapāyyanāyyasānnāyya nikāyyā nāmni C.1.1.136.

pāyya sānnāyyanikāyyadhāyyā"nāyyapranāyyā mānahavirnivāsasāmidhenyanityā'sammatiṣu - D.2.1.104.

pāyyadhāyyasānnāyanikāyyapraṇāyyānāyyasmanārg-ghṛinirvāsāsammatyanitye Ś.4.3.65

agnāvānāyyaparicāyyopacāyya samuhyāḥ Bh.1.3.181.

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306. For the vṛtti see the foot note No.66.

paricāyyopacāyyānāyyasamūhyāḥ cityamagnauḥ H.5.1.25
pāyyadhāyyapraṇāyyānnāyya kiṇḍapāyya sañcāyya rājasūya-
sannāyya nikāyya paricāyyopacāyya cityāgnicityā samuhyāmā-
vasyāmāvāsyā yājyāḥ V.975.

The meaning of the rule is the word annāyya is formed by the technique of nipātana when the meaning is anitya (temporary). Because it would have required greater number of sūtras and a more complicated technique to derive the form through the regular formative process. Cf. the vṛtti, "ānāyyaḥ iti nipātyate anitye'bhidheye nayate rānpūrvānnyadāyādeśau nipātyete.".[307]

Dakṣināgnī is called ānnāyya. This dakṣināgnī is brought from the gārhapatyā agnī. It is not kept alive permanently therefore, it is called ānāyya.

In KV, the corresponding rule is S.4.2.38. This rule corresponds to this and the next rule i.e. P.3.1.128 of Aṣṭ. The author has not followed P in this rule. The author has derived the forms praṇāyya and ānāyya by the regular formative procedure, when the meaning is asammati and anitya respectively but P. has taken this form ānāyya as a nipātita form. cf. the vṛtti, "prāṅgorupapadaniyor-dhātorasammatānityayoḥ yathāsaṁkhyaṁ ghyaṇ bhavati. sa ca svaravat praṇāyyaścauraḥ asammata ityarthaḥ ānāyyo

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307. a) Vāsu S.C., Aṣṭ. Op.cit. pp.396-397.
b) Śarmā A., Op. cit. p.205.

dakṣiṇāgnih yo gārhyapatyādānīya praṇīyate sa cānityo ruḍhitaḥ kathaṁ jyeṣṭhāya putrāya brahmabrūyāt praṇāyyāya cāntevāsinaityanyatrāpiti vacanāt." [308]

In CV, the corresponding rule is C.1.1.136. In this rule rule author has followed P as it is known from the vṛtti, "dhāyyādayaḥ śabdāḥ saṁjñāyāṁ nipātyate. dhāyyā sāmidhenī tato'nyatrāpi vartate. dhāyyaḥ śaṁsati . dheyamanyat pāyyaṁ mānam peyamanyat ānāyyo dakṣiṇāgnī. yo hi gārhapatyādānīya praṇīyate āneyoanyaḥ sānnāyyam havirviśiṣṭameva senneyamanyat. nikāyyo nivāsaḥ niceyo'nyaḥ". [309]

The corresponding rule in JV is D.2.1.104. This rule corresponds to this and other rules also. From the vṛtti it is known that the author has followed P. Cf. the vṛtti, "pāyya sānnāyya nikāyya dhāyya ānāyya praṇāyya ityete śabdānipātyante yathāsaṁkhyaṁ māna havirnivāsa sāmidhenī anitya asammati ityeteṣvṛtheṣu mīyate'neneti pāyyaṁ mānam. mānaḥ karaṇe ṇyaḥ ādipatvañca nipātyate mānamanyat sannīyate iti sānnāyyaṁ haviḥ sampūrvānnyayateḥ ṇyaḥ āyādeśo gerdītvaṁca nipātyate senneyamanyat nicīyate iti nikāyyo nivāsaścet nipūrvāccinaḥ ṇyāvādeśāvādikatvaṁ ca nipātyate niceyamanyat dhīyate iti dhāyyā sāmidhenī.

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308. Eggling J. Op.cit. p.334.

309. Chatterji K.C. op.cit. pp.47-48.

dhāternyo nipātyate viśiṣṭārcaḥ sāmidhenyaḥ tatra rudhivaśātkācidevocyate. dheyamanyat ānāyya iti nayaterānpūrvānnyāyādeśau nipātyāvanityeṣrthe. ānāyyo dakṣināgniḥ viśeṣasya āmāyo'nyaḥ avidyamānasammatirasammatiḥ prapūrvānnayaternyāyādeśau nipātyau. praṇāyyaścauraḥ praṇeyo'nyaḥ".[310]

In ŚV, the corresponding rule is Ś.4.3.65. From the rule it is known that the author has followed P. Cf. the vṛtti , "pāyyādayaḥ śabdāmānādiṣvartheṣuyathāsaṁkhyaṁ ghyaṇantā nipātyante mīyate yena tanmānaṁ tatra pāyyeti mān'o ghyaṇ ādipatvaṁ ca nipātyate pāyyaṁ mānaṁ meyamanyat. dhāyyeti dhāñaḥ ṛci ghyaṇ dhāyyā ṛcaḥ rudhiśabdo'yaṁ. kāścideva ṛca ucyante. sānnāyyeti sampūrvārnniyo haviṣi ghyaṇ upasargadīrghatvaṁ ca sānnāyya haviḥ ayamapi rudhiśabdaḥ kiñcidev havirucyate nikāyyeti nipūrvāccinoternivāse ghyāṇādeśādikutvāni nikāyyo nivāsa ityarthaḥ nivasantyasminniti nivāsaḥ pānāyyeti prapūrvānniyo'sammatau sammatiricchāḥ samrāṇo'bhilāṣaḥ so'smināstītyasammatiḥ asammato niṣkāma vocyate prāṇāyyaścoraḥ pareṣāṁ tatra sammatyabhāvāt prāṇāyyo'ntevāsī viṣaye svātman icchābhāvati ānnāyyeti ānpūrvānniyo'nitye, annāyyo dakṣāṇāgniḥ rudhiśabdo'yaṁ gārhyapatyādānetavye nityaṁ jāgrati vā ca dakṣināgnau vartate anitya iti rudhideśāmarśaḥ ānāyyo

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310. Tripāthy Ś.N. JV. Op.cit.p.100

godhugiti ca kecidudāharaṇam te'nityaparyāya mevānāyyaṃ manyante".[311]

In SK, the corresponding rule is Bh. 1.3.181. In this rule the author has followed P as it is known from the vṛtti of the sūtra Cf. the vṛtti, "ānāyyādayaḥ śabdā agnāvabhidheye ṇyadantā nipātyante- āṅpūrvānnayateḥ ṇyadāyādeśau nipātyeti- gārhyapatyādānīyata ityānāyyo dakṣiṇāgniḥ āhavanīyena sahaikayonirevocyate paryupa-rvāccinoteḥ ṇyadāyādeśau sampūrvād vaheḥ samprasāraṇam dīrghatvaṃ ca nipātyate.paricīyata iti paricāyyo'gniḥ evamupacāyyaḥ samūhyaḥ anyatrāneyaḥ pariceyaḥ upaceyaḥ saṃvāhya iti bhavati".[312]

In SV, the corresponding rule is not available.

In HS, the corresponding rule is H.5.1.25. From the vṛtti of the sūtra it is known that the author has followed P so far as the derivation of the forms are concerned. Cf. the vṛtti "eteagnau nipātyante. paryupapūrvāccinoterghyaṇ āyādeśaśca. paricīyate iti paricāyyo'gniḥ. evamupacāyyaḥ.pariceyaḥ. upaceyoānyaḥ āṅpūrvānnayaterghyaṇ āyādeśaścagārhyapatyādānīyate . ityānnāyyau dakṣiṇāgnī sa hyāhavanīyena saha ekoyonirevo-cyate āneyo'nyaḥ kecidagniviśeṣādanyatrāpyanityaviśeṣa

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311. Tripāthy Ś.N., Sv, Op.cit. p.393.

312. Śāstrī K.S., Op.cit. p.129

icchanti ānāyyo godhuk anitya ityarthaḥ sampūrvādvaherghyaṇ utvaṁ ca vaśabdasya samuhyata iti samūhyaḥ anyaḥ saṁvāhyaḥ. anye tu sampūrvādvaheraṇnāveveti niyamārthaṁ ghyaṇ nipātayanti. agneranyatra samuhityeva ityeva vahestu tanmateṇnāvāpi saṁvāhya iti bhavati cinoteḥ kyaP citvo'gniḥ ceyo'nyaḥ ".[313]

In MV the corresponding rule is V.975. The author has followed P in this rule as it is known from the vṛtti.[314] This rule of MV corresponds to this and some other rules of Aṣṭ.

In Jmv the corresponding sutra is not available.

praṇāyyo'sammattau	P.3.1.128.
prāṅgorniyo'sammatā nityayoḥ svaravat	S.4.2.39.
praṇāyyo'sammate	C.1.1.135.
mānahavirnivāsasāmidhenya nityā'sammatiṣu	D.2.1.104.
pāyyadhāyyasannāyanikāyyaprāṇāyyānāyyam-mānargaghavinir vāsāsammatyanite	Ś.4.3.65
praṇāyyo'sammataniṣkāmayoḥ	Bh.1.3.175
praṇāyyo niṣkāmāsammate	H.5.1.23

pāyyadhāyya praṇāyyānāyya kundapāyyasañcāyya rājasūya sannāyya nikāyya paricāyyopaccāyya cityāgnicityā samūhyāmavasyamāvasyā yājyāḥ V.975.

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313. HS. Op.cit. pp.834-335.

314. For the vṛtti of the sūtra V.975, see the foot note No.211.

The meaning of the rule is the word praṇāyya is formed by the process called nipātana when it means asammati,. Cf. the vṛtti, "avidyamāna sammatirasmin ityasammatiḥ. sammananam sammatiḥ, sammatatā pujā. praṇāyyaḥ iti nipātyate'sammatāvabhidheye . praṇāyya ścoraḥ asammatau iti kim ? praṇeyo'nyaḥ . yadeyevam katham etat ". jyeṣthāya putrāya pitā brahma vruyātpraṇāyyāntevāsine, nānyasmai kasmaicana (Ch.U.3. 10.5.6) iti ? sammatirabhilāṣo'pyucyate tadabhāvena niṣkāmatayā mokṣārtham yatamānāyāntevāsine praṇāyyāya brahma bruyāt iti yujyate".[315]

From the vṛtti it is known that the word asammati has two meanings . These are asammati and niṣkāma. The meaning niṣkāma is known from the line of Ch.up. quoted above. If the meaning will not be asammati, then the form will be praṇeyya.

The corresponding rule in KV is S.4.2.39. From the vṛtti[316] of the sūtra it is obvious that the author has not followed P so far as the derivation of the forms are concerned. Because the author has derived the form by the regular formative procedure where as P has derived the form by the nipātana. Neither in the vṛtti nor in the sūtra the author has not stated the niṣkāma as the meaning of praṇāyya.

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315. a) Vāsu S.C, Ast. Op.cit.p.397 b) Śarmā A,Op.cit.p.205

316. For vṛtti, see the foot note No.308.

In CV the corresponding rule is C.1.1.135. In this rule, the author has followed P as it is known from vṛtti, Cf. the vṛtti, "praṇāyya iti nipātyate asmmataścet praṇāyyaścauraḥ asammata kim ? praṇeyaḥ sādhuḥ katham tadetajyeṣṭhaputrāya pitā brahma brūyāt praṇāyyāya cāntevāsine iti vahulādhikārāt " [317] Here like KV, the author has not stated niṣkāma as the second meaning of praṇāyya. He has quoted the line from Ch.up. which quoted in the vṛtti. The author has stated here that by the vahulādhikāra meaning is niṣkāma i.e. diattachment, as it is known from the vṛtti.

In JV, the corresponding rule is D.2.1.104. This rule corresponds to this and some other rules of P's grammar. From the vṛtti,[318] it is clearly known that the author has followed P. The author has not given niṣkāma as the meaning of praṇāyya

In ŚV, the corresponding rule is Ś.4.3.65. From the vṛtti[319] it is known that the author has followed P. The author has also mentioned both of the meaning of the form praṇāyya as it is clearly stated in the vṛtti.

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317. Chatterji K.C., Op. cit. p.47.

318. For the vṛtti see the foot note No.310.

319. For the vṛtti see the foot note No.311.

In SK, the corresponding rule is Bh. 1.3.176. In this rule the author has followed P as it is known from the vṛtti, "praṇāyya iti prapūrvānnayaternyadāyādeśaśca nipātyate. praṇāyy ścoraḥ praṇāyyāyāntevāsine brahma prabrūyāt. asammataniṣkāmayoriti kim. praṇeyaḥ"[320] For the first time Bh has stated both of the meaning of the form praṇāyya in the sūtra. Before him none of the grammarian has done this. P and others have stated the meaning niṣkāma but not in the sūtra.

In HS, the corresponding sūtra is H.5.1.23. In this rule the author has followed P as it isknown from the vṛtti, Cf. the vṛtti, "prapūrvānnayaterghyaṇ āyādeśaśca nipātyate niṣkāme' sammate vābhidheye praṇāyyo'ntevāsī viṣayeṣvanabhilāṣa ityarthaḥ praṇāyyaścauraḥ sarvalokāsammata ityarthaḥ praṇeyo'nyaḥ ".[321] In this sūtra like Bh. the author has given both of the meanings of praṇāyya in the sūtra itself. In the example praṇāyyo'ntevāsī , the meaning of praṇāyya is niṣkāma or anabhilāṣa.

In SV, the corresponding rule is not available. In MV, the corresponding rule is V.925. This rule corresponds to this and some other rules of Aṣṭ. In this rule the author has followed P, as it is known from the vṛtti.[322]

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320. Śāstrī K.S., Op.cit. p.128.

321. HS, Op.cit. p.334.

322. For the vṛtti of the sūtra V.975, see the foot No.211.

The author has given the single meaning of pranāyya i.e. asammata. No example is given. The author has given two meanings of the word in the vrtti . These are asammata and priya.

In Jmv, the corresponding rule is not available.

pāyyasāmnnāyyanikāyyadhāyya māmahavir-
nivāsa samādhinesu P.3.1.129.
pādhormāna sāmidhenyoh S.4.2.38.
sāmnāyyanikāyyau havirnivāsayoh S.4.2.42
dhāyyapāyyānāyyasānnāyyanikāyya nāmni C.1.1.136.
pāyyasānnāyya ni kāyyadhāyyā' nāyya pranāyyā
mānahavirnivāsa sāmidhenyanityā' sammatisu D.2.1.104.
pāyyadhāyya sānnāyyanikāyyapranāyyānāyyam Ś.4.3.65
pāyyadhāyyamānasāmidhenyoh Bh.1.3.177.
sānnāyyanikāyyau havirnivāsayoh Bh.1.3.179
dhāyyapāyyasānnāyyanikāyyamrnmānahavirnivāse H.5.1.24.
pāyyadhāyyapranāyyānāyyakundapāyya sañcāyya rājasūyya
sannāyya nikāyya paricāyyopacāyya cityāgnicityā samuhyā-
māvasyāmāvasyā yājyāh V.975.

The meaning of the rule is the words pāyya, sānnāyya , nikāyya and dhāyya are formed by the nipātana when the meaning is a measure, an oblation (haviṣ), an abode (nivāsa), and sāmidhenya (a sacrifical prayer) respectively. Cf. the vrtti, "pāyyādayah śabdā nipātyante

yathāsaṅkhyaṁ māne harisi nivāse sāmidhenyāṁ cābhidheyāyāṁ" [323]

We find two rules which correspond to this rule of P. These two rules are S.4.2.38 and 4.2.42. We get the forms pāyya and dhāyya which mean māna and sāmidhenī respectiveiy by the sūtra 4.2.38. These two forms are derived by the regular formative procedure, where as P. has derived these two forms by nipātana. The forms sānnāyya and nikāyya are given in the sūtra 4.2.42. These two forms are derived by the nipātana by S which is the same with the paninian description. So in these two rules the author has followed P so fare as the forms sānnāyya and nikāyyā are concerned and differs from P in the case of dhāyya and pāyya, as it is known from the vṛtti of these two rules. cf. the vṛtti, " pā,dhā ityetayormāna sāmidhenyorarthayoḥ yathāsaṅkhyaṁ ghyaṇ bhavati, pāyyaṁ mānam vacanāt svārthaṁ tyajati peyamanyat dadhātyagnimitidhāyyā sāmidhenī samidādhāna-mantraḥ upacārād ṛtvig viṣaye'pi vartate dhāyyāḥ śaṁsati dheyamanyat (S.4.2.38) and etau havirnivāsayoḥ yathāsaṅkhyaṁ nipātyete, sāṁnnāyam. havi viśiṣṭameva yat. saṁneyamanyat nikāyyau nivāsaḥ , niceyamanyat". [324]

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323. Vasu, S.C. Aṣṭ. Op.cit. pp.397-398.
Śarmā A., Op.cit. p.205

324. Eggling J, Op.cit. pp.333-335.

In CV the corresponding rule is C.1.1.136. In this rule, the author has followed P as it is known from the vṛtti.[325]

In JV, the corresponding rule is D.2.1.104. This rule also corresponds to the previous two rules P.3.1.127 and P.3.1.128. From the vṛtti[326] it is obvious that the author has followed P.

In ŚV, the corresponding rule is Ś.4.3.65. This rule also corresponds to previous two rules of P. i.e. P.3.1.127 and P.3.1.128. In this rule, the author has followed P. so far as the vṛtti[327] of the sūtra is concerned.

Like KV in SK, we find two rules which correspond to this rule of P. These two rules are Bh. 1.3.177 and Bh.1.3.179. From the vṛtti, of both of the rules it is obvious that the author has followed P. Cf. the vṛtti, "pāyya dhāyya ityetau śabdau ṇyadantau yathāsaṅkhyaṁ māna-sāmidhenyorarthayorniṣpātyete. māṇaḥ karaṇe ṇyat ādipatvaṁ ca. mīyate'neneti pāyyaṁ mānam dhāñaḥ karaṇe ṇyat. dhīyate samidagnāvanayeti dhāyyā sāmidhenī ruḍhitvāt kācidevocyate sāmidhenīśabdasya copalakṣaṇatvāt asāmidhenyapyabhidhīyate dhāyyāḥ śaṁsatīti (1.3.177).

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325. For vṛtti see the foot note No. 309
326. For vṛtti see the foot note No.310
327. For vṛtti see the foot note No.311.

and sānnāyya nikāyya ityetau śabdau ṇyadantau yathā-saṁkhyaṁ havir nivāsayorarthayornipātyate. sampūrvānna-yaternyadāyādeśāvupasargadīrghatvaṁ ca sānnāyyam . rudhitvāddhavirviśeṣa evāvatiṣṭhate sanneyamanyat nipūrvāccinoternyadāyādeśāvādikutvaṁ ca . nikāyyonivāsaḥ. niceyamanyat".[328]

In HS, the corresponding rule is H.5.1.24 . From the vṛtti, of the sūtra it is known that the author has followed P. cf. the vṛtti, "dhāyyādayaḥ śabdā ṛgādiṣvartheṣu yathāsaṁkhyaṁ ghyanantā nipātyante nipātanādeva ca sarvatrāyādeśaḥ dadhāterṛci, dhīyate samidagnāvanayeti dhāyyārk rudhiśabdatvātkāścideva ṛcaucyante anyatra dheyā mīyete yenatanmānam tatra māna ādipatvaṁ ca mīyate teneti pāyyaṁ mānam meyamanyat sampūrvānnayaterhaviṣi samo dīrghatvaṁ ca sānnāyyaṁ haviḥ ayampi rudhiśabdatvāddvirviśeṣe'vatiṣṭhate. saṁneyamanyat nipūrvāccinoternivāse ādikatvaṁ ca nikāyyau nivāsaḥ. niceyamanyat".[329]

In SV, the corresponding rule is not available.

In MV, the corresponding rule is V.975. In this rule the author has followed P. as it is known from the vṛtti.[330] This rule corresponds to many rule of Aṣṭ.

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328. Śāstrī K.S., Op.cit. pp.128-129.

329. HS. Op.cit. p.334.

330. For the vṛtti of the sūtra V.975 see the foot note No.211.

In Jmv, the corresponding rule is not available.

kratau kuṇḍapāyyasaṁcāyyau	P.3.1.130.
saṁci kuṇḍapāḥ kratau	S.4.2.40
kratau kuṇḍapāyyasaṁcāyyau	C.1.1.137
kuṇḍapāyya saṁcāyyaparicāyyopacāyyacityāgnicityāḥ	D.2.1.105.
kuṇḍapāyyasaṁcāyyarājasūyaḥ kratau	Ś.4.3.64
kratau kuṇḍapāyyasaṁcāyyau	Bh. 1.3.180
saṁcāyyakuṇḍapāyyarājasuyaḥ kratau	H.5.1.22.
pāyyadhāyyapraṇāyyānāyya kuṇḍapāyyasaṁcāyya rājasūya sannāyya nikāyya paricāyyopacāyya cityāgnicityā samūhyā-māvasyā māvāsyā yājyāḥ	V.975.

The meaning of the rule is the word kuṇḍapāyya and saṁcāyya are formed by nipātana when the meaning is the sacrifice. Cf. the vṛtti, "kuṇḍapāyya saṁcāyya ityetau śabdau nipātyete kartāvabhidheye."[331] The meaning of the word kuṇḍapāyya is the sacrifice in which soma is drunk with a bowl. The meaning of saṁcāyya is the sacrifice in which soma is collected. If the meaning will not be the sacrifice, the forms will be kuṇḍapānam and saṁceyaḥ

In KV, the corresponding rule is S.4.2.40. In this rule the author has not followed P. From the vṛtti, it is clearly known that in this grammar these two forms are formed by the regular formative procedure where as P has derived these

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331. Vasu S.C. Aṣṭ Op.cit. p.398.
Śarmā A., Op. cit. p.206.

forms by nipātana. cf. the vṛtti, "sampūrvāccinoteḥ kuṇḍapūrvācca pibateḥ kratāvabhidheye ghyaṇ bhavati sa ca svaravat saṁcāyate'sau saṁcāyyaḥ kratuḥ kuṇḍaiḥ pīyate asau kuṇḍapāyyaḥ kratuḥ sa somakohi yāgaḥkraturarthāt somapīyate'smin iti abhidhānād adhikaraṇe vā". [332]

In CV, the corresponding rule is C.1.1.137. The author has followed P so far as the vṛtti of the sūtra is concerned. cf. the vṛtti, "kratāvabhidheya etau śabdau nipātyete kuṇḍaiḥ pīyate somo'smin kuṇḍapāyyaḥ kratuḥ nipātanādā-dyudāttatvam sañūyate somo'sminniti sañcāyyaḥ kratuḥ " [333] In the vṛtti also the accent of kuṇḍapāyya is given as ādydātta and which is due to nipātana.

In JV, the corresponding rule is D.2.1.105. This rule corresponds to this and the just following sūtra. From the vṛtti it seems that the author has followed P . Cf. the vṛtti "kuṇḍapāyya sañcāyya paricāyya upacāyya citya agnicityā ityetāni śabdarupāṇi nipātyante. kuṇḍena pīyate'smin soma iti kuṇḍapāyyaḥ kratuḥ . kuṇḍa śabde ṇyo'dhikaraṇe nīpātyate. kuṇḍapānamanyat sañcīyate iti sañcāyyaḥ kratuḥ. sañceyyamanyat paricāyyopacāyyau nipātyate agnāvabhidheye pariceya upaceya ityanyat cityāgnici-tyāsabdau nipātyete agnāvabhidheye cīyate'saucityo'gniḥ agnicayanamagnicityā antye strīliṅge bhāve kyamnipātyaḥ " [334]

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332. Eggling J, Op.cit. p.334.

333. Chatterji K.C., Op.cit. p.48

334. Tripāthy Ś.M. JV. Op.cit.p.100

In ŚV the corresponding rule is Ś.4.3.64. The author has followed P so far as the vṛtti[335] of the sūtra is concerned. This rule also corresponds to the rule P.3.1.114 in to some extent.

In SK the corresponding rule is Bh. 1.3.180. The author has followed P so far as this vṛtti of the sūtra is concerned. Cf. the vṛtti, "kuṇḍapāyyasañcāyyaśabdau ṇyadantau kratāvarthe nipātyete kuṇḍaiḥ pīyate somo'sminniti kuṇḍapāyyaḥ kratuḥ sampūrvāccinoterṇyadāyādeśaśca sañcīyate'gniraṣminniti sañcāyyaḥ kratuḥ "[336].

In HS the corresponding rule is H.5.1.22. In this rule like other post paninian grammarians the author has followed P as it is known from the vṛtti.[337]

In ŚV, the corresponding rule is not available .

In MV the corresponding rule is V.975. From the vṛtti[338] cf. the sūtra it is known that the author has followed P in this rule.

In Jmv. the corresponding rule is not available.

agnau paricāyyopacāyyasamūhyāḥ	P.3.1.131.
paricāyyaupacāyyāvagnau	Ś.4.2.43.

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335. For the vṛtti of the sūtra Ś.4.3.64 see the foot note No.208.
336. Śāstrī K.S.Op.cit. p.129
337. For the vṛtti of the rule H.5.1.22. see the foot Note No.210.
338. For the vrtti of the sūtra V.975 see the f. Note No.211.

agnaucityopacāyyaparicāyyaḥ C.1.1.138

kuṇḍapāyyaḥ saṃcāyyaparicāyyopacāyyacityāgnicityā -D.2.1.105

agnauparicāyyopacāyyāsamuhyā cityāḥ Ś.4.3.66

agnāvānāyyaparicāyyopacāyya samuhyāḥ Bh.1.3.181

paricāyyopacāyyānāyyasamūhyacityamagnau H.5.1.25.

pāyyadhāyya praṇāyyānāyya kuṇḍapāyya saṃcāyya rājasūya sannāyya nikāyya paricāyyopacāyya cityāgnicityā samūhyāmāvasyāmāvāsyāvājyaḥ V.975.

The meaning of the rule P.3.1.131 is the form paricāyya, upacāyya and samuhya are formed by the nipātana, when they indicate the names of fire. Cf. the vṛtti, "paricāyya upacāyya samūhya ityete śabdā nipātyante agnāvabhidheye - paripūrvāt upapūrvācca cinoternyadāyādeśau nipātyate paricāyyam upacāyyaḥ sampūrvād vaheḥ samprasāraṇam dīrghatvaṁ ca nipātyate samūhyam cinvīta paśukāmaḥ agnau iti kim? pariceyam samvāhyam[339]" If the names of the fire will not be indicated the forms will be pariceyam, upaceyam and saṁvāhyam.

In KV, the corresponding rule is S . 4.2.43. This rule only contains the form paricāyyā and upacāyya . The word samūhya is available in the sūtra S . 4.2.44, which will be discussed latter on. The author has followed P. so far as

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339. Vāsu, S.C. Aṣṭ. Op.cit. p.398.

Śarmā A, Op.cit. p.206.

the derivation of the forms are concerned, as it is known from the vṛtti. Cf. the vṛtti, " etāvagnāvarthe nipātyate pariciyate asau paricāyo'gniḥ upacīyate ityupaccāyo'gniḥ" [340]

In CV, the corresponding rule is C.1.1.138 . This rule corresponds to this and the following rule. The author has fallowed P as it is known from the vṛtti, Cf. the vṛtti, " cityādayo'gnivisaye nipātyante cityo'gniḥ cayanaṁ citya, cinoteḥ kyaP antadāttatvaṁ ca agneścityā. agniścityā upacīyate, upacāyyo'gniḥ paricīyate, paricāyyaḥ saṁūhya ityuhinā siddhaṁ tasyāpi vahyarthe kvacit prayogāt. saṁvāhya iti cāgnau bhavataiva." [341]

In JV the corresponding rule is D.2.1.105. This rule corresponds to three rules of P. i.e. P.3.1.130, P.3.1.131 and P.3.1.132. D has not mentioned the form saṁūhya in the sūtra, so it is left by his grammar. The grammarian has followed P so far as the derivation of the forms are concerned, as it is known from the vṛtti. [342]

In ŚV the corresponding rule is Ś.4.3.66. The author has followed the principle of P in this rule as it is known from the vṛtti. Cf. the vṛtti, " agnau paricāyyādayaḥ śabdā nipātyante paricāyyopacāyyeti paryupapūrvasya ciño

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340. Eggling J, Op.cit. p.335

341. Chatterji K.C., Op.cit. p.48.

342. For the vṛtti see the foot note No.334.

ghyaṇāyādeśo nipātyete paricāyyo'gniḥ pariceyo'nyaḥ upacāyyo'gniḥ upaceyo'nyaḥ samūhyeti sampūrvād vahateghyaṇ samūhyo'gniḥ samuhitavyo'nyaḥ cityeti ciñaḥ kyaP cityo'gniḥ ceyo'nyaḥsamūheghyaṇityeva siddhe niyamārtham samūhyetyagner-anyatra mā bhūt śeṣāṇām ye prapte nipātanam." [343] In the line of vṛtti the author says that the very word samūhya also can be derived by the ṆyaT suffix in regular formative procedure. But the meaning will not be the fire. Only the meaning fire applicable to the word samūhya derived by the process called nipātana .

In SK, the corresponding rule is Bh. 1.3.181. This rule corresponds to this and the rule P.3.1.127. In this rule the author has followed P so far as the vṛtti [344] of the sūtra is concerned.

In HS, the corresponding rule is H.5.1.25. The author has followed P so far as the derivation of the forms are concerned, as it is known from the vṛtti.[345]

In SV, the corresponding rule is not available . In MV, the corresponding rule is V.975. In this rule the author has followed the paninian procedure for the derivation of the forms, as it is known from the vṛtti.[346]

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343. Tripāthy Ś.N. ŚV, Op.cit.p.393.
344. For vṛtti see the foot note 312.
345. For vṛtti see the foot note no.313.
346. For the vṛtti of the sūtra V.975 see the foot note No.21

In Jmv, the corresponding rule is not available.

cityāgni citye ca	P.3.1.132.
cityāgni citye ca	S.4.2.44.
agnau cityopacāyyaparicāyyah	C.1.1.138
kundapāyyasamcāyyaparicāyyopacāyya cityāgnicityāh	-D.2.1.105
agnauparicāyyopacāyyāsamuhyā	Ś.4.3.66.
agnicityā	Ś.4.3.76
cityāgni citye ca	Bh.1.3.182.
paricāyyopacāyyānāyyasamūhyacitya-magnau	H.5.1.25
agnicityā	H.5.1.37
pāyya dhāyya pranāyyānāyya kundapāyya sañcāyya rājasūya sannāyya nikāyya paricāyyopacāyya cityāgnicityā samūhyāmavasyā māvāsyā yājyāh	V.975

The meaning of the rule is the words citya and agnicitya are also formed by nipātana, when the meaning is fire. The word citya is derived from the root ci and means fire which is to be collected. As cityo'gnih which means "the funeral pile-fire". The word agnicitya means "arranging the fire". Cf. the vrtti "cityaśabdo'gnicityāśabdaścanipātyete cīyate'sau cityo'gnih agnicayanameva agnicityā." [347]

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347. Vasu S.C., Ast. Op.cit.p.399.
Śarmā, A. Op.cit. p.206

In KV, the corresponding rule is S.4.2.44. In this rule the author has followed P. This rule also contains the word samūhya which means fire and which is given in the previous rule of P. From the vrtti, it is obvious that both of the grammarians have followed the same procedure i.e. nipātana for the derivation of the forms. Cf. the vrtti, "etāvagnāvarthe nipātyete cīyata iti cityo'gnih agneścayanam agnicityā bhāve.samuhya ityuhinā siddham asyāpi kvacid vahatyarthe prayogah. samvāhyaiti cāgnau bhavatyeva."[348]

In CV, the corresponding rule is C.1.1.138 . This rule correspond to this and the previous rule. From the vrtti[349] it is clearly known that the author has followed P. so far as the procedure of derivation is concerned.

In JV, the corresponding rule is D.2.1.105. The author has followed the paninian procedure for the derivation of the forms as it is known from the vrtti.[350]

There are two corresponding rules in ŚV. i.e. Ś.4.3.66 and 4.3.76. In both of the rules the author has followed P as it is obvious from the vrtti . The rule Ś.4.3.66 corresponds to both the present and the previous sūtras, from which the word cityā is found. The sūtra

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348. Eggling J, Op.cit. p.335

349. For vrtti see the foot note No.341.

350. For vrtti see the foon note No.334.

4.3.76 stands for the form agnicityā Cf. the vṛtti, "agneḥ parāciñaḥ strībhāve kyaP nipātyate agneścayanam-agnicityā".[351]

In SK the corresponding rule is Bh.1.3.182. In this rule the author has followed P as it is known from the vṛtti. cf. the vṛtti, "cityāh agnicityā ityetau śabdau kyabantāvantodāttau nipātyete cīyate iti cityo'gniḥ agnicayanamevāgnicityā agnāvityeva ceyamanyat".[352]

Like ŚV in HS also we find two rules which correspond to this rule of P. These two rules are H.5.1.25 and H.5.1.37.

The rule H.5.1.25 corresponds to the previous and this rule also. In both of the rules the author has followed P without any change as it is known from the vṛtti. The sūtra H.5.1.37 stands for the form agnicityā . From the vṛtti, it is known that, H has followed P so far as the derivation of the form is concerned. Cf. the vṛtti, "agneḥ paraccinoteḥ strībhāve kyaP nipātyate ageneścayanamagnicityā".[353]

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351. For vṛtti of the rule Ś.4.3.66 see the f.n.No.343 and for the vṛtti of Ś.4.3.76 Cf. Tripāthy Ś.N., ŚV. op.cit. p.394.

352. Śāstrī ,K.S. Op.cit. p.129.

353. For the vṛtti of the sūtra H.5.1.25. see the F.N.No.313 and sūtra H.5.1.37 Cf. HS op.cit. p.336.

In SV, the corresponding rule is not available.

In MV, the corresponding rule is V.975. In this rule the author has followed P as it is obvious from the vṛtti.[354] This rule corresponds to many sūtras of Aṣṭ.

In Jmv. the corresponding sūtra is not available.

It is clear from the above discussion that all — most all grammarians are in agreement with P, so far as the technique and the wording of the sūtras are concerned. We must, however, mention, that many of them did try to strike anote of difference from P but the differentce is on a very small scale, the propertion of agreement is greater than the propertion of disagreement.

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354. For the vṛtti of the rule V.975 see the foot note No.211.

CHAPTER - III

THE NIPĀTANAS

THE NIPĀTANAS

When we study P's grammar, we are struck by the technical skill in it. P has used the technique of it-saṁjñā, anuvṛtti, adhikāra , nipātana, type-token etc. profusely in his grammar. It is because of this jungle of technicalities and the technical terms like gha, ghi, ghu, ṭi, bha etc., that the person who starts newly the study of his grammar is frightened and takenaback. It is therefore, necessary to study the techniques of linguistic descriptive analysis employed by P in his grammar. It would also be interesting to see, howfar the post-paninian grammarians have followed P in this respect.

It is very necessary at the outset to distinguish between the different types of techniques used by P. We have the techniques like anuvṛtti, adhikāra, etc. on the one hand. This type of technique works on the level of sūtra system only. It does not work on the level of grammatical analysis and procedure directly.

We have another type of technique like it-saṁjñā which works neither on the level of sūtra system nor on the level of grammatical analysis. It works only on the level of the grammatical procedure, where the different types of morphological, phonological and or morpho-phonemic

and accentual changes like guṇa, vṛddhi etc. are required. Thus if the it letter is ñ or ṇ it brings about vṛddhi. Cf. the sūtra aceñṇiti (vṛddhi) P.7.2.115.[355] Besides these two types of techniques mentioned above we have still the third type of technique like āgama, lopa, ādeśa and nipātana. The speciality of these techniques is that they work purely on the level of descriptive grammatical analysis.

i) āgama

āgama in-dicates addition.

e.g. stu + ya = stutya

"t" is added by the rule hrasvasya piti kṛti tuk. P.6.1.71 and this technique corresponds to the Mathematical technique of addition.

If in Mathematics we are given the following equation like 5 = 8 and since they can not equal mathematically. We have to supply 3 and write as 5+3 = 8, to make it equal.

In the same way, in P's grammar what P gives us is stu + ya = stutya.
But the left hand side is not equal to right hand side and therefore, P has to add one t called tuk āgama. (cf. the

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355. For detail discussion cf. Pandit M.D., "Pāṇinian it saṃjñā -a symbolic Zero" BDCRI silver Jubilee volume (----) pp 77-94 1966

sūtra hrasvasya piti kṛti tuk P.6.1.71). And after this addition, the two sides become identical . We can safely compare this technique of āgama to the mathematical technique of addition or yoga.

ii) lopa

As in Mathematics subtraction, which is opposite to addition, so also we have in P's grammar a technique which is opposite to the technique of āgama is lopa. This technique of subtraction goes by the name of lopa (lit. zero)[356] defined by P as adarśanam lopaḥ P.1.1.60. To represent mathematically corresponding to the following mathematical operation of subtraction in 8 = 5, which being impossible requires the subtraction of 3 from 8, as 8 - 3 =5.

We have the paninian procedure of lopa as in bhav -a-ti = atti, which being impossible on the level of deep structure must be corrected by subtracting the a i.e. śap from atti as

ad + śap + tip

= ad + o + ti

= atti[357]

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356. Cf. Pandit M.D., "Zero in Pāṇini " JMSUB (Humanities) Vol.XI, No.1, pp.53-66, 1961.

357. bhavati and atti are on the level of surface structure while $R+S_1+S_2$ for bhavati and $R+S_2$ for atti are the examples of deep structure.

So it can be seen that the technique of ā<u>gama</u> and <u>lopa</u> are opposite to each other and correspond to the mathematical techniques of <u>addition</u> and subtraction.

iii) <u>ādeśa</u>

The next technique which works purely on the level of descriptive grammatical procedure and this technique goes by the name of <u>ādeśa</u>, which literally means order but techniqally means substitution or replacement. We have many examples of this technique in Mathematics and this technique is used for the sake of convenience. Similarly there are many examples in P's grammar of the use of the technique which is resorted to in order to avoid lengthy and complicated grammatical procedure of formal analysis. We illustrate in the following from Mathematics.

If in the following mathematical expression $(a+b)^2 - (a - b)^2$, we are asked to factorise the simple and straight forward method is first to solve the brackets as

$$(a + b)^2 - (a - b)^2$$
$$= (a^2 + b^2 + 2ab) - (a^2 + b^2 - 2ab)$$
$$= a^2 + b^2 + 2ab - a^2 - b^2 + 2ab.$$

Which after cancelling the apposite signs comes to 4 ab only.

But, one, this is not factorisation. It is a simple solution. For findingout the factorisation,we adopt the method of substitution in Mathematics.

Thus, we put x for the whole bracket a+b, and y, for the second whole bracket a-b.

The expression then turns out to be very simple as x^2-y^2, which when factorised gives us the factor as

(x+y) (x-Y)

Then we again substitute the original sums of x and y and we get the factors as (a+b+a-b) (a+b-a-+b)

= (2a) (2b)

This method of substitution is though complicated simpler than the original is simple and straightforward method.

Now, if and when we turn to P's grammar, we get the example of ādeśa in the case of the substitution of the dhātu bhū for as in forming the past passive participial.

Thus, the procedure is for the word bhūta

= as + kta (by the rule niṣṭhā P 3.2.102)

= as + ta (K elides by the rule laśakvataddhite P.1.3.8)

= bhū + ta (Cf. the rule aster bhu P.2.4.52)

= bhūta

The method of substitution avoids the cumbersome procedure of accounting for the change of as in to bhū. P could have made the rule like the following to account for the change.

i) a becomes bh.

ii) s becomes u

But this procedure is not only unnatural but also entails gaurava as against lāghava. P. therefore, adopted the technique of ādeśa in such case by stating aster bhū P.2.4.52, which seems very natural and precised one.

√as in P corresponds to the (a+b), and (a-b) which are being substituted by x and y respectively. √bhū corresponds to the substituting entities as x and y in Mathematics. √as is called sthānin , in P's grammar and √bhū is celled ādeśa . Similarly we can say that (a+b) and (a-b) are sthānins in Mathematics and x and y are ādeśas in Mathematics.

The difference between ādeśa and āgama is that ādeśa completely dethrones or deives out the incombant i.e. the sthānin and occupies it's place, āgama on the other hand does not eliminate the original incombant but adjusts itself in the proper place by allowing the incombant also to stay. In other words ādeśa acts as an enemy and āgama acts as a friend. cf. "ādeśaḥ śatṛvat

pravartate, āgamaḥ mitravat pravartate". Also Cf. "śatṛvat ādeśa mitravat āgamaḥ ".

If we study the different ādeśa in P's grammar, we find that there are mainly two levels on which the technique ādeśa predominately works. They are

i) Phonological substitution

ii) Morphological substitution.

i) PHONOLOGICAL SUBSTITUTION

The substitution of one phoneme for another phoneme is phonological substitution. The examples for this type of ādeśa are provided by the different sounds changing in to other types of sounds. e.g. i changes to e, u changes to o etc. in guṇādeśa, or e changes to ay, āy , o changes to av, āv in the avādeśa.

ii) MORPHOLOGICAL SUBSTITUTION

The substitution of one morpheme for another morpheme is morphological substitution. We have the different types of categories in the case of the substitution on morphological level. They are

a) prātipadikādeśa (b) pratyayādeśa

c) dhātvādeśa

a) prātipadikādeśa

When a prātipadika is substituted for other pratipadika, that is called prātipadikādeśa. The example is provided by

the prātipadika jarā substituted by jaras. (Cf. the rule jarāyāḥ jarasanyataraasyām P.7.2.101) . The prātipadika jarā is substituted by jaras in this rule.

b) Pratyayādeśa -

When a pratyaya is substituted for other pratyaya, that is called pratyayādeśa. The example is provided by the substitution of t by n. as in masja magna, lasja lagna or by l as in phulla or by v in pakva or by K in śuṣka etc.

c) Dhatvādeśa

When a dhātu is substituted by other dhātu is known as dhātvādeśa. The example of substitution of a dhātu by another dhātu is provided by the examples of as and bhū stated above. In the past passive participial form bhūta, as is changed to bhū.

In all these substitutions i.e. the ādeśas act as or fully take the place of sthānins . (Cf. the sūtra sthānivadādeśo'nalvidhau P.1.1.56) and a lot of discussion is also findout in paribhāṣenduśekhara. There are also many rules in Aṣṭ. where the technical terms sthāni, adeśa occour. (Cf. the rule ṅicca P.1.1.53, anekālśit sarvasya P.1.1.55, alo'ntasya P.1.1.52 etc.)

iv) NIPĀTANA

Besides the above techniques viz. āgama, ādeśa and lopa, P has also used onemore technique called nipātana. In the sub-section of kṛtya suffix a many nipātana sūtras are found. So this technique requires a little greater discussion for this important technical term. The well framed Aṣṭ, in which the sūtras are placed in a scientific order and used for the different formations available in the vedic and classical languages. Also sometimes fails to justify the grammatical justification in case of some words. This nipātana technique is applied, when other techniques of regular formative rules fail. Thus the form vahyam, from the √vah cannot be easily explained with the help of normal formative rules. It would require some special rule or rules to describe it. Cf. the famous maxim. "śāstrāntarāprāptasya mukhatah uccāraṇam nipātanam ", in which śāstrāntara means the regular formative rules. To frame new rule or rules for the description of such individual forms would be a gaurava as against lāghava, which latter was keenly aimed at by the ancient Indian grammarians. In order to avoid gaurava, therefore, this technique of nipātana was employed by the Sanskrit grammarians.

In pre-paninian period, the only method of composing the grammar of a language was to collect different words, list them and recite them by hearts.

It was this method, that was followed in pre-paninian times by Brhaspati[358] to teach Indra for writting the grammar. This legend clearly shows that, one of the simple ways to compose grammar in pre-paninian times was enumeration of the forms. So according to Dr. M.D.Pandit, "The technique of nipātana basically resembles the technique of simple enumeration."[359] So now it is very well infered that, the technique of nipātana has its roots, not in paninian skill but in pre-paninian pedestrian way of enumeration, which was perhaps, the only descriptive technique adopted for the description of a language in prepaninian times . Yet, there is another point to support our view, that the method of enumeration (technically called nipātana, lateron) has its own exsistence from the time of pre-paninian period. In Nighaṇṭu, a number of vedic words are found, whose meaning

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358. Cf. athaitasmiñśabdopadeśe sati kiṁ śabdānāṁ pratipattau pratipadapāthaḥ kartavyaḥ·gauraśvaḥ puruśo hastī śakunimṛgo brāhmaṇa ityevamādayaḥ śabdāḥ paṭhitavyāḥ netyāha·anubhyupāya eṣa śabdānāṁ pratipattau pratipadapāthaḥ evaṁ hi śruyate·bṛhaspatirindrāya divyaṁ varṣasahasraṁ provāca nānta jagāma." Abhyaṅkar V, (Ed.) Vyākaraṇa Mahābhāṣya, pt.I,p.12.1938.

359. Pandit M.D., A comparative study of all Sanskrit grammars, Op.cit. p.164.

had become mostly unintelligible and whose etymology was beyond any type of grammatical explanation. Lateron, Yaska, tried his somewhat scientific hand at the explanation of Nighaṇṭu words that fairly scientific method and outlook became discrenible.

There are some internal evidences also which would point out to the non-paninian character of the nipātana sūtras. For this, if one goes deeply into Aṣṭ, one finds that, the work betrays a lot of complicated technique and much of interdependance of the sūtras. No sūtra is find out, which falls in the category of formative rules are dependant by itself. That means, such type of sūtras are inter related and without this character i.e. inter-relation, a single form in Sanskrit can not be explained. For an example, take a simple sandhi sūtra which enjoins sandhi viz. akaḥ savarṇe dīrgha. P.6.1.101. or iko yaṇoci P.6.1.77. In the rule iko yaṇoci , only three padas are available viz. ikaḥ - the genetive singular of ik, yaṇ- the nominative singular of yaṇ and aci - the locative singular of ac. All these three pādas are basically known as the pratyāhāras. For understanding the technical term pratyāhāra, one would require to know the sūtras like adirantyena sahetā P.1.1.71 and halantyam P.1.3.3. Even then, for understanding the significance of the different case terminations of

genetive singular, nominative singular and locative singular one would be expected to have full knowledge of the sūtras ṣaṣṭhī sthāne-yogā P.1.1.49 (for genetive singular ikaḥ) and tasminniti nirdiṣṭe pūrvasya P.1.1.66 (for the locative singular aci). Apart from that again one has to know the sūtra sthāne'ntaratamaḥ P.1.1.50 for determining as to which ādeśa out y, v,r and l takes place in the place of i.u,ṛ and ḷ . Thus a simple saṁdhi sūtra like the above requires a previous knowledge of at least five sūtras. Such is the case of the sūtra akaḥ savarṇe dīrghaḥ P.6.1.101. In a nutshell, to know this simple saṁdhi rule, one requires to know the pratyāhāra ak. To know the pratyāhāra, one should know the pratyāhāra sūtra mentioned above. Again for the word savarṇa, one should know the savarṇa vidhāyaka sūtra, for the third and last pada of the sūtra dīrgha, one should know the technical term dīrgha. So to know a simple saṁdhi sūtra, one has to know many a sūtras, which is no doubt complicated.

Such is not in the case of the nipātana sūtras. Even if these sūtras read by themselves, they give their meaning fully and clearly. One can know the nipātana rule or nipātita word without having any previous knowledge of any sort of grammatical rule. Thus, when it is stated that puṣyasiddhau nakṣatre P.3.1.116, we understand without the previous knowledge of any sūtras in the whole Aṣṭ.,

that the words puṣya and siddhya are irregularly formed as (puṣ+kyaP) and (sidh + kyaP) respectively, when used as the names of asterisms or when they making the sense of the name of the nakṣatra. The same is the case with the other nipātana sūtras; they do not require any more previous knowledge of other sūtras or any technique of P.

So it is obvious that, the nipātana sūtras are independent, they do not require any more inter-relationship. According to Dr. M.D.Pandit, "The nipātana sūtras do not seem to have what may be called an organic relationship with the rest of the Aṣṭādhyāyī. They seem to be extraneous and to have been admitted into the Pāṇinian fold out of sheer practical necessity."[360]

The word nipātana is derived from ni + √pat (causal) "to fall down", "to cause fall down" with the kṛt suffix ana (Pāṇinian yuc according to rule nyāsaśrantho yuc P.3.3.107; yu → ana according to the rule yuvoranākau P.7.1.1. and literally means "laying down" or even which is laid down."

Ptj. has nowhere defined the technique nipātana. L.Renou[361] explains it as "the way of falling upon by chance".

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360. Pandit, M.D. A Comparative Study of all Sanskrit grammars Op.cit. p.166.

361. Renou L, Etudes védique et pāninéennes, I.p.103, Paris, 1955: le fait de tomber par hasard.

(obviously from ni + √pat "to fall") in the grammatical process instead of treating under general formative rules. In Bālamanoramā, the commentary of Skau. the definition of nipātana is mentioned as, "prātisvikaṁ vidhiṁ vinā siddhaprakriyasya nirdeśaḥ nipātanam ".[362] The meaning is astatement of a form whose grammatical procedure is self-established.

Kaśikā on the rule P.3.1.123 remarks : "yadiha lakṣaṇenānupapannaṁ tatsarvaṁ nipātanāt siddham".[363] Somebody also defines the nipātana as "Łāghavārthaṁ nipātanamiti, nipātanaṁ hi yatra lāghavāya kalpate tatra nipātanam āśrayati ācāryaḥ"[364]

In Pradīpa commentary of MBh on the sūtra P.1.1.114, a verse is found which remarks rudhyarthaṁ ca nipātanam".[365]

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362. Caturveda G and Parameśvarānandaśarmā (Ed) Vaiyākaraṇa Siddhānta Kaumudī, Pt. I, p.79 , Motilal Banarasi Dass, 1st Edn,1981.

363. Śarmā A. Op.cit. p.203.

364. Rishi R.M., The nipātana sūtras in the Aṣṭādhyāyī, Unpublished doctoral dissertation submitted to the University of Poona, p.4,1975.

365. Cf. the verse,
dhātu sādhana kālānāṁ prāptyarthaṁ niyamasya ca,
anuvandha vikāraṇāṁ rudhyarthaṁ ca nipātanam.
Vedavrata (Ed.) vyākaraṇa Mahābhāṣya (with Pradīpa commentary, Pub - Haryana sāhitya saṁsthān, Gurukula, Jhajjar, (Rohtak), p.68, 1963.

Kaiyata defines nipātana at the time of giving the statement regarding the difference between vidhi and nipātana cf. "vidhinipātanayoścāyaṁ bhedo yatrāvayavā nirdiśyante samudāyo'numīyate sa vidhiḥ yatra tu samudāyaḥ śruyate' vayavāśścānumīyate tannipātanam ".[366]

Dr. R.M.Rishi has stated the definition of nipātana as "prakṛti pratyaya vibhāgaśūnyam yatra śevdarūpaṁ sādhutva pratipādanārthaṁ sākṣāt nirdiśyate tannipātanasūtraṁ"[367]

If, however, we study the nipātana sūtras of P and other post-paninian grammarians from the section of kṛtya suffixes, we find that, when a whole or finished form is laid down, without the analysis in to its components viz. prakṛti or nucleus and pratyaya or satellite, it is called nipātana.

Thus when instead of lying down the grammatical procedure of the form vahyaṁ (vah), in terms of analysis in to the components and / or interms of the change of vā in vāhyaṁ in to va in vahyaṁ. In this case, as per the rule NyaT suffix, would have been operated. Instead of using NyaT suffix, using of yaT suffix is laying down. If NyaT would have been operated, we would have arrived at the form vāhyaṁ, but giving the form as vahyaṁ, which is attested and desired,

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366. Ibid,p.47.

367. Rishi R.M, Op.cit. p.15.

yaT suffix is in operation. vahyaṁ word is laid down instead of the form vāhyaṁ. As a whole, it is sure that the word vahyaṁ is laid down on the whole word vāhyaṁ.

NIPĀTANA AND ĀDEŚA - A CONTRAST.

More clearly saying that the technique of nipātana is provided by the examples like the kṛtya derivative vahyaṁ from √vah in the sense of instrument. Actually according to P, the real form should have been vāhya, but there is no rule in P's grammar which prohibits the vṛddhi of vā in to va. And framing an independent rule for the sake of only for this would have been gaurava and would have been created some other difficulties. P therefore, thought it wiser to explain the form vahyaṁ by means of the technique of nipātana, which is simple and much at the same time lāghava, the most desire of the grammarians. This is the case, with all other post-paninian grammarians. They also for the same reason i.e. for brevity and ease adopted the technique of nipātana after P.

Speaking superficially, this technique appears to be very simple and totally different from other types of technique used by P. But really speaking it is not so. If we examine the technique carefully we can compare it with the other techniques discussed above. We find that the technique of nipātana has not only a great similarity with

but is identical with the technique of ādeśa discussed above. In nipātana, the nipātita form (vahyam in present case) is the ādeśa or substitution for the form vāhyaṁ which would have been arrived by the regular formative procedure. We therefore, can say that nipātana of vahyaṁ for vāhyaṁ is basically a regular technique of substitution.

Yet there is a subtle difference in the techniques of ādeśa and nipātana. In the technique ādeśa, the sthānin as well as the ādeśa are both explicitly mentioned in the sūtras. (cf. the sūtra asterbhūḥ P.2.4.52), in which the ādeśa bhū and the sthānin as are expressly mentioned. Such is not the case in the technique of nipātana. In this technique, only the ādeśa is given in the sūtra and the sthānin is left to be imagined or inferred by the reader. In the example mentioned above vahyam is only given, the sthānin vāhyaṁ is not mentioned in the sūtra. It is left to the imagination of the reader.

ii) The technique of ādeśa works on the level of phenology and morphology, on the other hand the technique of nipātana does not work, on these levels. There is no nipātana of a single sound or prātipadika or pratyaya or dhātu only. The technique of nipātana works on the level either of a finished form or of a unfinished

form.[368] The example of babhūtha which is a nipātana for the regular form babhūvitha (cf. the sūtra babhūthātatanthajagṛbhmavavarthetiṇigame P.7.2.64) provides us the example of the nipātana of a fully finished form viz. babhūtha.

iii) Generally ādeśas are directed by the vidhi sūtras in Aṣṭ. but for the nipātana a special rule is made, by which some specific formations are given. These special rules can not be useful for any other instances. These only made for the special cases.

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368. Finished form means a fully declined prātipadika or dhātu. Thus rāmasya or gacchati are fully finished form. Unifinished form refers to that part which is devoid of the declensional terminations. Thus rāma or gaccha are unfinished forms. For the detail discussion.

Cf. Pandit M.D., " Pāṇini - A study in Non-compounded word-structures", VIJ , vol. I, part 2, Sept. 1963. pp.324-334;

also, " Pāṇini - A study in compound word-structures", JMSUB (Humanities), Vol. XII, No.I, 1963, pp.81-99.

iv) Generally ādeśa are of two types :

a) phonological substitution or varṇādeśa

b) morphological substitution, which is having two sub-divisions (i) for prakṛti- morpheme and (ii) for pratyaya-morpheme. But nipātana is a morphemic substitution for the whole form which may be referred as rūpādeśa. In a nutshell, prakṛti can be an ādeśa and pratyaya can be an ādeśa but the form which is coming out of prakṛti and pratyaya is called nipātana.

Speaking truely any nipātita form has one corresponding non-nipātita form, which latter can be arrived at by the regular formative procedure. In other words, a nipātita form is a conditional (the conditions may be semantic, phonological or accentual) substitute for a corresponding finished form. This means that the techniques of both, the nipātana and ādeśa involve fundamentally the same principle viz. that of substitution of something by some other thing. So we find that the technique of nipātana is not a new or different kind of technique but is an extention of the technique of ādeśa employed by P profusely. P adopted it and raised it to the status of a technique as an extention of ādeśa technique. The technique of nipātana thereafter ceased to be simple enumeration or enlisting the forms. In this sense

the nipātana as a technique seems to be P's own innovation. As a simple enumeration of forms, it might be non-Pāṇinian or pre-paninian. P has developed some sorts of characteristics in nipātana for which it differs from ādeśa. Other wise nipātana is an ādeśa with some charactecal extention.

After stating these preliminary statements, we may begin by pointing out that the study of all the nipātana sūtras laying down the kṛtya formations fall in to three categories.

i) FORMAL NIPĀTANA

These sūtras, which laydown with the help of nipātana only the form of the kṛtya dorivatives, no other categories such as meaning, accent etc. being taken in to consideration, is known as formal nipātana. The study of purely morphological conditions can also be included in this category. In a nutshell, when the forms are different but the meaning and accent is same, that is called formal nipātana.

ii). SEMANTIC NIPĀTANA

Those sūtras, which lay down the form of the kṛtya derivatives for bringing out the semantic difference also. The semantic difference is without any exception accompanied by formal difference. We may call this type semantic

nipātana, since the nipātana is intended more specifically for semantic purpose. When the forms are different and if the difference is bacause of the difference in meaning, that is called semantic nipātana.

iii) ACCENTUAL NIPĀTANA

We may call those sūtras as the examples of accentual nipātana which lay down form for the sake of explaining its accent which deviates from the general pattern of accent and hence cannot be laid down by the general formative rules. The accentual nipātana may or may not be accompanied by formal or semantic nipātana.

The third category of nipātana i.e. accentual nipātana, however, is not found so far as the kṛtya suffixes are concerned.

It would be better to take example from the kṛtya section itself for the different types of nipātana categorised above.

The example of the formal nipātana

i) When the forms are given as the nipātana without any meaning adding to it that is called formal nipātana. The forms like rāja sūya, sūrya, mṛ ṣodya , rūcya, kupya, kṛṣṭapacya and avyathya are the examples of formal nipātana,

which can be illustrated as formal nipātana's forms. Because, here in these forms no meaning is added in the sūtra as in the other cases like vahyaṁ karaṇam, upasaryākālyā prajane, ajaryaṁ saṁgatam etc. No other condition is given in these cases for the nipātita forms, without giving any cause simply these forms are given. In the rule rājasūya sūryamṛṣodyarūcyakupyakṛṣṭapacyā-vyathyāḥ P.3.1.114, it is described only that the KyaP suffix is added for these irregular forms. As without any standing cause these forms are nipātana. It is called formal nipātana.

ii) The example of Semantic nipātana

The second and the most important type of nipātana is semantic nipātana. As it is already discussed that when the forms are different because of the difference in meaning, is called semantic nipātana. We find a great number of nipātana coming under this category. As in vahyaṁ karaṇam . If there is the sense of instrument, we will get the form irregularly vahya which means, by which some-thing is carried e.g. cart. otherwise the regular form would be vāhya, who carries i.e. an ox. Likewise ajaryaṁ saṁgatam arya svāmīvaiśayoḥ etc.

As most of the sūtras of the kṛtya section are of nipātana by nature, it would be better anatysed these in detail.

In the rule P.3.1.101, there nipātita forms are available i.e. avadya, paṇya and varyā. The derivation of these forms are given below.

avadya - avadyapaṇyavaryā garhyapaṇitavyā nirodheṣu-P.3.1.101.

nañ + vad + yaT (The suffix yaT is added here by the nipātana)

= a + vad + ya (n, ñ and t are elided by the rules naloponañaḥ P.6.3.73, halantyam P.1.3.3 and tasya lopaḥ P.1.3.9).

= avadya

anudya is the regular form derived by the KyaP suffix by the rule vadaḥ supi kyaP ca P.3.1.106. This rule gives the scope for the application of both kyaP and yaT suffix, where as in this rule yaT is only applied. The nipātana is introduced to debar the kyaP suffix from the application, which brings samprasāraṇa and with the avadya, the form anudya also would haveb been available. The rule is the apavāda sūtra oṗ. P.3.1.106.

paṇya - P.3.1.101

From the root paṇ , the form paṇya is formed by the nipātana , when it means salable i.e. paṇitavya

paṇ + yaT (by the nipātana)

= paṇ + ya (ṭ elides by the rules P.1.3.3 and P.1.3.9)

= paṇya

If we go for the regular formative procedure , we will not get the formation paṇya. Because paṇ is a consonant ending root and according to the sūtra ṛ halorṇyat P.3.1.124, the ṆyaṬ suffix will be applied. By the ṆyaṬ suffix, there will be vṛddhi and the form will be pāṇyam, which means stuti. To cease the vṛddhi and for the different accent, the nipātana is used here. By the ṆyaT suffix there is vṛddhi in the upadhā by the rule ata upādhāyāḥ P.7.2.116 and the accent is antaḥsvarita. By the nipātana, the yaT suffix is applied by which the vṛddhi is ceased and by the rule yato'nāvaḥ P.6.1.213, the form paṇya becomes ādyudātta. The paṇya is found in both MS and ŚB in the sense of vikraya.[369]

varyā - avadyapaṇyavaryā garhyapaṇitavyānirodheṣu P.3.1.101

varyā - The word varyā is formed by the procedure nipātana from the root vṛ (to choose) when it is having these sense of anirodha i.e. unobstructable.

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369. sā me satyāśīrdenāṅgamyājjuṣṭājuśuṣṭatarā paṇyāt paṇyatarā. (MS 1.4.1).
tasmādidaṁ sakṛtsarvaṁ paṇyam (ŚB 3-3-1.8).

The formation is

vṛ + yaT (by the nipātana)

= vṛ + ya (t elides by the rules halantyam P.1.3.3. and P.1.3.9)

= var + ya (guṇa by the rule sārvadhātukārdhadhātukayoḥ - -P.7.3.84.)

= varya + ā = (by the rule ajādyataṣṭāp P.4.1.4)

There is the scope for the application of P.3.1.124 and P.3.1.109 . If P.3.1.124 will be applied, there will be the vṛddhi by the ṆyaT suffix and if the rule P.3.1.109 will be applied there will be the prohibition of guṇa and the tuk āgama will be prevailed in the form by the KyaP suffix. And the form varyā will not be available.

The root vṛ is having three types of forms varyā, vāryaḥ and vṛtya . Out of these three varyā is in feminine gender which is formed by the yaT suffix in nipātana, vāryaḥ is in masculine gender which is formed by the ṆyaT suffix and vṛtya which is in neuter gender and formed by the kyaP suffix. The form varyā means anirodha, vāryaḥ is ṛtvij.

The corresponding sūtras of this sūtra from all the post-paninian grammars are given and compared in the previous chapter. The rules are -

S.4.2.15

C.1.1.112

D.2.1.88

Ś.4.3.72

Bh. 1.3.143

H. 5.1.32

V. 980

J. 180

Like P, all of the post paninian grammarians have discussed these three forms as the nipātita forms except Ś and J.in ŚV and Jmv respectively. According to them these three forms are also the regular forms. Both the grammarians have the different principles altogether, which is different from the paninian principles for arriving at the forms.

According to Ś and J, these forms are

pan + yaT = panyam

In Jmv, only the form panyam is available and other two forms are absent.

In this case, Ś and J have tried to go away from P and strike a new point altogether. In ŚV, the corresponding sūtra is not available.

Vahyam = vahyam karaṇam P.3.1.102

vah + yaT (by the nipātana)

= vah + ya (t elides by the rules halantyam P.1.3.3 and tasyalopaḥ P.1.3.9.)

= vahya.

In regular procedure as per the rule ṛhalorṇyat P.3.1.124, the ṆyaT suffix would have applied here, as vah is a consonant ending root and by that the form would be vāhya. (vṛddhi is due to ṇit).

Because of the nipātana , the form is available without vṛddhi, which is desired in the form vahyaṃ. The corresponding sūtras of all other post-paninian grammars are :

S.	4.2.16
C.	1.1.113
D.	2.1.88
Bh.	1.3.144
H.	5.1.34
V.	980
J.	180

The corresponding rules are not available in ŚV and SV. All other sūtras have followed the paninian principle except Jav. J has derived the form vahyaṁ in regular formative procedure. Apart from this in all other grammars the form vahyaṁ is derived by the nipātana procedure.

arya - aryasvāmivaiśyayoḥ P.3.1.103.

ṛ + yaT (by the nipātana)

= ṛ + ya (ṭ. goes by the rules P.1.3.3 and P.1.3.9.)

= ar + ya (guṇa by the rule
sārvadhātukārdhadhātukayoḥ P.7.3.84
and (ar by the rule P.1.1.51 uraṇraparaḥ)

The regular formation would be ārya by the rule P.3.1.124. But to get the form arya, the yaT suffix applied by the nipātana. The meaning of the form arya is of two types as it is clearly known from the sūtra P.3.1.103 quoted above. The word arya is differently accented for the difference in meaning. By the vārttika : svāminyantodāttatvam ca vaktavyam, the word arya when accented as antodātta means svāmi, and when this word accented as ādyudātta means vaiśya. To make it clearer

aryá is svāmi (antodātta)
árya is vaiśya (ādyudātta)

But none of the post paninian grammarians has discussed the accent. So in their grammars it is difficult to know when arya means svāmi and when it means vaiśya.

In this sūtra, except Ś and J, all other grammarians have followed the Paninian principle for the derivation of the form arya i.e. the nipātana procedure is adopted by them But Ś and J have derived the form by the regular formative procedure. So they differ from the Paninian procedure in this case. The corresponding rules are :

S. 4.2.17.

C. 1.1.114

D. 2.1.88

Ś. 4.3.77

Bh. 1.3.145.

H. 5.1.33

V. 980

J. 181

Upasaryā - Upasaryā kālyā prajane P.3.1.104

upa + sṛ + yaT (by nipātana)

= upa + sṛ + ya (t elides by the rules P.1.3.3. and P.1.3.9)

= upa + sar + ya (guṇa by the rule sārvadhātuka-rdhadhātukayoḥ P.7.3.84)

= upa + sar + ya + ṭāP (by the rule ajādyataṣṭāp P.4.1.4)

= upa + sar + ya + ā (ṭ and p elide by the rules cuṭu P.1.3.7, halantyam P.1.3.3 and P.1.3.9)

= upa + sar + yā (akasavarṇedirghaḥ P.6.1.101)

= upasaryā

In the regular formative procedure the form would have been upasāryā . Because the root sṛ is a consonant ending root and by the rule P.3.1.124. The ṆyaT suffix

would have applied and the form would be upasāryā, which means approachable. By the nipātana, the form upasaryā is possible.

The corresponding rules of other grammars are the following :

S. 4.2.18

C. 1.1.115

D. 2.1.68

Ś. 4.3.72

Bh. 1.3.146

H. 5.1.32

V. 980

In SV and Jmv, the corresponding sūtras are not available . All other grammarians have followed P . i.e. they have also derived the form upasaryā in the procedure called nipātana except Ś. Like the previous rules Ś has derived the form upasaryā in the regular formative procedure. So he has not followed P in this rule.

ajaryaṁ - ajaryaṁ saṁgatam P.3.1.105

nañ + jṛṛ + yaT (by the nipātana)

= a + jṛṛ + ya (nelides by the rule nalopo nañaḥ P.6.3.73 and P.1.3.9 and ñ elides by P.1.3.3)

a + jar + ya (guṇa by P.7.3.84)

= ajaryaṁ

The word ajaryaṁ is derived in the sense of kartari which means imperishable. The kṛtya formations are formed only in the sense of bhāve and karmaṇi. The kartari sense is irregular here for which the nipātana is given. The word ajryam is derived from the root ऋॄ which is a ṛkāranta dhātu. By the rule P.3.1.124, the ṆyaT suffix should have been applied. But by the nipātana, the yaT suffix is applied.

From the sūtra P.3.1.101 to this rule all are included under the semantic nipātana. Because, in each sūtra meaning condition is given.

The corresponding sūtras of other grammars are :

S.4.2.19

C.1.1.116

D. 2.1.88

Ś.4.3.47

Bh. 1.3.147

Svarādyaḥ - A.

H.5.1.5.

V. 980.

In Jmv, the corresponding rule is not available. In SV, we do not get the corresponding sūtra but in the vṛtti of the sūtra svarādyaḥ, the form ajaryaṁ is given. All the grammarians except Ś. have followed P. The nipātana

procedure is, followed by them for the form ajaryam. But Ś, has derived the form in regular procedure. According to him, yaT suffix will be applied for the form ajaryam in regular formative procedure, but not by the procedure called nipātana.

rājasūya - rājasūyasūryamṛṣodyarūcyakupyakṛṣṭa-pacyāvyathyāḥ P.3.1.114.

rājan + sup + su + kyaP (nipātana)

= rājan + su + kyaP (sup elides by the rule) (supo dhātuprātipadikayoḥ P.2.4.71).

= rāja + su + ya (kand P elides by the rules P.1.3.8, P.1.3.3, and P.1.3.9)

= rājan + sū + ya (of sū becomes dīrgha by nipātana)

= rāja + su + ya (nelides by the rule na lopaḥ prāpadikāntasya P.8.2.7)

= rājasūya

The root su is a vowel ending root, so by the rule aco yat P.3.1.97, yaT suffix weald have applied. But by the nipātana , the suffix yaT is debared and the kyaP suffix is applied. Much at the same time in this form the dirghatva of sū and the prohibition of guṇa is possible due to nipātana. So for these three reasons mentioned above, the nipātana is taken place.

sūrya - P.3.1.114.

The form sūrya can be derived from both of the root sṛ and sū.

sṛ + kyaP (by the nipātana)

= sṛ + ya (k and P elide by the rules P.1.3.8, P.1.3.3, and P.1.3.9).

= sur + ya (by uraṇaraparaḥ P.1.1.51)

= sūrya (dīrgha by halica P.8.2.77)

or

sū + kyaP (by nipātana)

sū + ya (k and P elide by the rules P.1.3.8, P.1.3.3 and P.1.3.9)

= sūr + ya (by nipātana)

= sūrya

From the root sū, yaT suffix should have been applied and from the root sṛ, ṆyaT suffix should have been applied by the rule P.3.1.97 and P.3.1.124 respectively. But in nipātana kyaP suffix is applied in kartari sense Otherwise the form sūrya would not have available.

mṛṣodya - P.3.1.114.

mṛṣā + vad + kyaP (by the nipātana)

= mṛṣā + vad + ya (k and p elide by the rules P.1.3.8 P.1.3.3. and P.1.3.9.)

= mṛṣā + ud + ya (samprasāraṇa by the rule vaci - svapiyajādīnāmkiti P.6.1.15)

= mṛṣodya

By the rule P.3.1.106, there is the scope for the application of yaT and kyaP. But in this rule only kyaP is applied by the nipātana.

rūcya - P.3.1.114.

= rūc + kyaP

= sūc + ya (both k and P elide by the rules P.1.3.8 and P.1.3.3 and P.1.3.9)

= rūc + ya (no guṇa by the rule kiṅtica P.1.1.5)

= rūcya

The word rūcya is formed in kartari sense by the nipātana, according to kty.[370] In the Nyāsa commentary it is also said, "kartṛpratyayāntenārthamupadarśayan karttari nipātanam darśayati tṛjādau prāpte kyab nipātyate ".[371]

kupya P.3.1.114.

gup + kyaP (by the nipātana)

= gup + ya (K and P elide by the rules P.1.3.8, P.1.3.3. and P.1.3.9)

= kup + ya (K tva is by the nipātana)

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370. For detail study cf. Rishi R.M. op.cit.p. 67.

371. Śāstrī D, and Śukla K.P., (Ed.) Kāśikāvṛttiḥ part-II,p.510, pracyabhāratīprakāśanam, Varaṇāsī, 1965.

The word kupya is derived from the root gup. There is the possibility of the application of the suffix ṆyaT by the rule P.3.1.124, as it is a consonant ending root. But the kyaP suffix is applied in nipātana, in the sense of karmaṇi ṇ of the root gup changes to K by the nipātana.

kṛṣṭapacya - P.3.1.114.

kṛṣṭa + ṇi + pac + kyaP (by the nipātana)

= kṛṣṭa + o + pac + kyaP (ṇi elides by the rule P.2.4.71)

= kṛṣṭa + pac + ya (K and P elide by P.1.3.8, P.1.3.3 and P.1.3.9)

= kṛṣṭapacya

The form kṛṣṭapacya is formed from the root pac by the addition ofthe kyaP suffix in kartari sense. Otherwise in karmaṇi sense ṆyaT would have applied as per the rule P.3.1.124 and the form would be kṛṣṭapākya.. The kartari sense is nipātana here.

avyathya - P.3.1.114.

naÑ + vyath + kyaP (by the nipātana)

= a + vyath + kyaP (by the rule P.6.3.73)

= a + vyath + ya (by the rules P.1.3.8, P.1.3.3., and P.1.3.9).

= a + vyath + ya = avyathya

In the case of the form avyathya, the suffix kyaP is applied in the karatari sense. As it is said in Kāśikāvṛtti, cf. " vyatha bhayacalanoyoḥ asmāt karttari trjapavādaḥ kyab nipātyate".[372]

The corresponding rules are follows :

S. 4.2.30

S. 4.2.34

S. 4.2.41

C. 1.1.126

C. 1.1.127

D. 2.1.94

Ś. 4.3.48

Ś. 4.3.64,

Ś. 4.3.77,

Ś. 4.3.78

Bh. 1.3.158

Bh. 1.3.159

Bh. 1.3.160

H. 5.1.6

H. 5.1.22,

H. 5.1.38,

H. 5.1.39

V. 975

V. 984

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372. Ibid.

J. 189

J. 190

P has derived all these forms in the nipātana by the kyaP suffix. The corresponding rule in SV is not available. Ś and J have not followed the principle adopted by P. The forms rucya and avyathya in ŚV is derived by the regular procedure. The author of Jnv also derives the forms rājasūya and kratupacya by the kyaP suffix in regular procedure and all other forms are not available in his grammar.

Apart frmm these variations the other post-paninian grammarians have derived the forms in the nipātana procedure, still we find some differences. In kv, the forms like sūrya, rūcya, avyathya, kratupacya and kupya are derived in the nipātana by the kyaP suffix but the form rājasūya. is formed in the nipātana by the GHyaN suffix. In CV, all the forms are available in the nipātana by the kyaP suffix like Aṣṭ. In JV, all the forms are available in the nipātana by the kyaP suffix like CV and Aṣṭ. In ŚV, we have already mentioned that rūcya and avyathya are derived in the regular procedure. The forms like arṣodya and kupya are derived by the kyaP suffix in the nipātana procedure and the form rājasūya is derived in the nipātana by the GHyaN suffix. In SK, all the forms are available in the nipātana by the kyaP suffix like CV, JV and Aṣṭ.

In HB, the forms like rūcya, avyathya, kupya, sūrya , mṛdya are derived in the nipātana by the kyap suffix and the form rājasūya is derived in the nipātana by the GHyaN (paninian ṆyaT) suffix. In MV, the forms like sūrya, rūcya , avyathya, kṛṣṭapacya, and kupya are derived in the nipātana by the kyaP suffix and the form rājasūya is formed by the GHyaN (ṆyaT) in the nipātana procedure.

This rule comes under the category of formal nipātana , because in the sūtra, the meaning condition of the forms are not given and only the śābdal variation is given.

bhidya - bhidyoddhyau nade P.3.1.115

bhid + kyaP (by the nipātana)

bhid + ya (K and P elide by the rules P.1.3.8, P.1.3.3. and P.1.3.9)

= bhidya (no guṇa and vṛddhi by the rule P.1.1.5).

As bhid is a consonant ending root, there is the scope for the application of ṆyaT suffix. But by the nipātana kyaP suffix is applied in the kartari sense, and it is also apavāda to tṛjādi suffixes, as it is stated in nyāsa vṛtti.[373]

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373. Śāstrī D and Śukla K.P., Op.cit. p.511.

bhidya is the name of a river. It may be identified with a river named Baī, rising in Jammu about 15 K.M. from the west of Ujh, and flowing in to Rāvi.[374]

uddhya - P.3.1.115

udjh + kyaP (by the nipātana)

= udjh + ya (k and p go by the rules P.1.3.8, P.1.3.3 and P.1.3.9).

= uddh + ya (by nipātana jh becomes dh,)

= uddhya

According V.S.Agrawal, uddhya is also a river and its modern name is ujh and it is flowing through Jammu and falling into Ravi.[375]

The kyaP suffix is applied here in the kartari sense. There is the scope for the application of NyaT suffix. But by nipātana kyaP is applied.

The corresponding rules of other grammar as are :

S.4.2.31

C.1.1.127

D.2.1.95

Ś.4.3.78

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374. Agrawal V.S., India as known to Pānini, pp.44-45 Lucknow. 1953.

375. Ibid.

Bh. 1.3.161

H.5.1.39

bhidyoddhyau nade nipātyate . A.

V.984

In Jmv , the corresponding rule is not available. In all other grammars the sūtras are available. Where the procedure of P is followed for the derivation of the forms bhidya and uddhya. This rule comes under the category of semantic nipātana.

puṣya - puṣyasiddhyau nakṣatre - P.3.1.116

puṣ + kyaP (by the nipātana)

= puṣ + ya (by the rules P.1.3.8, P.1.3.3 and P.1.3.9 both k and p elide respectively)

= puṣya

As puṣ is a consonant ending root, there is the scope for the application of ṆyaT suffix. But by nipātana the kyaP suffix is applied in adhikaraṇa sense, as it is stated in nyāsa. Cf. the statement "adhikaraṇe kyab nipātyata iti lyuto'pavādaḥ "[376]

siddhya - P.3.1.116

sidh + kyaP (by the nipātana)

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376. Śāstrī D and Śukla K.P., Op.cit.p.511

sidh + ya (k and p elide by the rules P.1.3.8, P.1.3.3. and P.1.3.9)

= siddhya

There is also the scope for the application of the NyaT suffix asitisa consonant ending root. But by the nipātana kyaP is added here in adhikarana sense.[377]

The corresponding sūtras in other post-paninian grammars are :

S.4.2.32

C.1.1.127

D.2.1.96

Ś. 4.3.78

Bh. 1.3.162

H.5.1.39

V. 984

In SV and Jmv, the corresponding rules are not available. All other grammarians have derived these two forms in then nipātana procedure i.e. they have followed P, in this sūtra.

vipūya = vipūyavinīyajityā muñja kalkahaliṣu P.3.1.117.

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377. Ibid.

vi + pū + kyaP (by the nipātana)

= vi + pū + ya (k and P elide by the rules P.1.3.8, P.1.3.3 and P 1.3.9)

= vipūya (due to P.1.1.6, there is no guṇa because of kit).

There is the scope for the application of yaT suffix as the root pū is a vowel ending root. But by the nipātana, kyaP is applied in karmaṇi sense.

vinīya P.3.1.117

vi + nī + kyaP (by the nipātana)

= vi + nī + ya (K and P go away by the rules P.1.3.8, P.1.3.3. and P.1.3.9)

= vinīya (no guṇa by the rule P.1.1.5)

As nī is a ajanta dhātu , there is the scope for the application of yaT suffix. But by the nipātana kyaP is applied.

jitya - P.3.1.117.

jit + kyaP (by the nipātana)

= ji + ya (both K and P go away by the rules P.1.3.8, P.1.3.3. and P.1.3.9)

= ji + tuk + ya (tuk āgama by the rule P.6.1.71)

= ji + t + ya (u and k elide by the rules P.1.3.2., P.1.3.3. and P.1.3.9)

= ji + t + ya (by the rule P.1.1.46)

= jitya

There is the possibility of the application of yaT suffix, as the root ji is a vowel ending root. But by the nipātana the kyaP suffix is applied.

The rules comes under the category of semantic nipātana . Because the meaning of the forms are given in the sūtra itself.

The corresponding sūtras of the post-paninian grammarians are the following :

S. 4.2.28

C. 1.1.128

D. 2.1.97

Ś. 4.3.80

Bh. 1.3.166 and Bh.1.3.167

H. 5.1.43

V. 984.

The corresponding rules of SV and Jmv are not available S, Ś and H have derived these forms in the regular formative procedure. In SK, the form jitya is derived in the nipātana by the kyaP suffix and the other two forms viz. vinīya and vipūya are derived by the kyaP suffix in the regular formative procedure. Apart from these three grammarians,

all other grammarians including P have derived these forms in the nipātana by the kyaP suffix.

yugyaṁ - yugyaṁ ca patre P.3.1.121.

yuj + kyaP (by the nipātana)

= yuj + ya (K and P elide by the rules P.1.3.3, P.1.3.8 and P.1.3.9)

= yug + ya (by the nipātana j changes to g)

= yugya (no guṇa because of the rule P.1.1.5 as kyaP is a kit suffix).

The kyaP suffix is applied to the root yuj by the nipātana. As it is a consonant ending root, there is the scope for the application of the ṄyaT suffix. The changing of j to g is also due to nipātana.

The corresponding rules in other post-paninian grammars are the following :

S. 4.2.33

C. 1.1.127

D. 2.1.100

Ś. 4.3.78

Bh. 1.3.163

H. 5.1.39

V. 984

In SV and Jmv , the corresponding sūtras are not available. All the post paninian grammarinas have followed

P in this sūtra i.e. all of them have derived the form in the nipātana. The ca kāra of the sūtra indicates the nipātana of two things, (i) kutva , and (ii) the suffix kyaP, as it is stated in the kāś.

amāvasya (- amāvāsyā)= amāvasyadanyatarasyām P.3.1.122.

The suffix ṆyaT is applied to the root vas having amā upapada. Optionally there is no vṛddhi by the nipātana.

amāvāsyā

= amā + vas + ṆyaT (by the rule ṛhalorṇyat P.3.1.124)

= amā + vās + ṆyaT (vṛddhi by the rule ata upadhāyāḥ P.7.2.116).

amā + vās + ya (ṇ and t elide by the rules P.1.3.7, P.1.3.3 and P.1.3.9)

= amāvāsya + ṭāp (by the rule ajādyataṣṭāp P.4.1.4).

= amāvāsya + ā (ṭ and p elide by the rules P.1.3.7 P.1.3.3 and P.1.3.9 respectively)

= amāvāsyā (dirghādeśa by the rule akaḥ savarṇe dīrghaḥ P.6.1.101)

= amāvasyā (one side there is the prohibition of vṛddhi by the nipātana by the rule P.3.1.122)

In the literature both the forms amāvasyā and amāvāsyā are available. The form amāvāsyā is not a

nipātita form but on the other side, there is the prohibition of vrddhi in the form amāvasyā.

The rule P.3.1.122 is available in kyaP prakaraṇa But this word is a nipātita form of ṆyaT suffix. If kyaP suffix would have been applied, there would have been samprasāraṇa in the form becasue of kitva. So far the prohibition of samprasāraṇa arising out of kitva of kyaP suffix, the nipātana is made here. Otherwise as vas is a consonant ending root by the regular procedure ṆyaT is applied by the rule P.3.1.124 . The corresponding rule in other grammars are the following:

S.4.2.45

C.1.1.134

D.2.1.103

Ś.4.3.63

Bh. 1.3.174

H.5.1.21

V. 975

J. 174.

The corresponding rules is not available in SV. In CV, SK and Jmv, the authors have not followed the paninian procedure. According CV, these two forms i.e. amāvāsyā and amāvasyā are two optionally forms and they

are derived by the ṆyaT and yaT suffix respectively. This principle is followed by SK. According to Bh, these two forms are optional forms. Both C. and Bh have derived the forms optionally but P has derived the form amāvasyā by the nipātana. J, the author of Jmv has derived these said forms in a different way altogether. According to hiro both Ṇya (ṆyaT) and yaṄ (yaT) will be applied to the root for which the forms i.e. amāvāsyā and amāvasyā are available respectively. These three grammarians have followed the different way for the derivation and others have followed P's principle.

niṣṭarkya - P.3.1.123

niṣ + kṛt + ṆyaT (by the nipātana)

= niṣ + kṛt + ya (ṇ and t elide by the rules P.1.3.7, P.1.3.3 and P.1.3.9)

= niṣ + ṭṛk + ya (by nipātana, ṣ changes to ṣ and kṛt becomes ṭṛk)

= niṣ + ṭark + ya (guṇa by the rule P.7.3.84)

= niṣṭarkya (ṭ becomes ṭ by the rule ṣṭunā ṣṭub P.8.4.41).

There is also the scope for the application of kyaP suffix by P.3.1.110. But by the nipātana ṆyaT is applied. Because of nipātana , niṣ becomes niṣ and kṛt becomes ṭṛk.

devahūya - P. 3.1.123

deva + hu + kyaP (by the nipātana)

deva + hu + ya (K and P elide by the rules P.1.3.8, P.1.3.3 and P.1.3.9)

= deva + hū + ya (by the nipātana)

= devahūya

or

deva + hve + kyaP (by the nipātana)

= deva + hve + ya (K and P elide by the rules P.1.3.8, P.1.3.3 and P.1.3.9)

= deva + hvā + ya (by the rule P.6.1.145)

= deva + hu + ya (by the rule yajusyuraḥ P.6.1.115 and ṇaśiṇaseśca P.6.1.108)

= deva + hū + ya (dīrgha by the rule halaḥ P.6.4.2)

In this word as the root hu is a vowel ending root, there is the scope for the application of the yaT suffix but by the nipātana, the kyaP suffix is applied. The dirghatva from hu to hū and the absense of tuk is due to nipātana also.

praṇīya - P.3.1.123

= pra + nī + kyaP (by the nipātana)

= pra + nī + ya (by the rules P.1.3.8, P.1.3.3 and P.1.3.9 K and P elide)

= pra + ṇī + ya (by the rule upasargādasamāse' piṇopadeśa -sya P.8.4.14, n becomes ṇ)

= praṇīya

The root nī is a vowel ending root, so there is the scope for the application of yaT suffix and also there is the scope for the guṇa . But by the nipātana the kyaP suffix is applied and guṇa is prohibited by the rule P.1.1.5, as the kyaP is a kit suffix.

unnīya - P.3.1.123

ud + nī + kyaP (by the nipātana)

= ud + nī + ya (K and P elide by the rules P.1.3.8, P.1.3.3 and P.1.3.9)

= un + nī + ya (d changes to n by the rule yaro'nunāsike'nunāsike vā P.8.4.46)

= unnīya

As nī is an ajanta dhātu there is the scope for the application of yaT suffix and guṇa. But by the nipātana the kyaP suffix is applied and the guṇa is prohibited.

ucchiṣya

= ud + śiṣ + kyaP (by the nipātana)

= ud + śiṣ + ya (K and P elide by the rules P.1.3.8 P.1.3.3 and P.1.3.9)

= uj + śiṣ + ya (d changes to j by the rule stoḥ ścunā ścuḥ P.8.4.40)

= uc + śiṣ + ya (j changes to c by the rule kharica P.8.4.55)

= uc + chiṣ + ya (ś changes to ch by the rule śaśchoṭi P.8.4.63)

= ucchiṣya

There is the scope for the application of the ṆyaṬ suffix, as áiṣ is a halanta root but by the nipātana the kyaP suffix is applied.

marya - P.3.1.123

= mṛ + yaṬ (by the nipātana)

= mṛ + ya (ṭ elides by the rules P.1.3.3 and P.1.3.9)

= mar + ya (guṇa by the rule P.7.3.84)

= marya

There is the scope for the application of ṆyaṬ suffix, as it is a ṛ ending root , but by the nipātana the yaṬ suffix is applied.

staryā - P.3.1.123

= stṛ + yaṬ (by the nipātana)

= stṛ + ya (by the rules P.1.3.3 and P.1.3.9 ṭ elides)

= star + ya (guṇa by the rule P.7.3.84)

= starya + ṭāp (by the rule P.4.1.4)

= starya + ā (ṭ and P elide by the rules P.1.3.7 and P.1.3.3 respectively)

= staryā

As the root stṛ is a ṛ ending root, there is the scope for the application of ṆyaT suffix but by the nipātana yaT is applied .

dhvarya - P.3.1.123.

= dhvṛ ✱ yaT (by the nipātana)

= dhvṛ + ya (t elides by the rules P.1.3.3 and P.1.3.9)

= dhvar + ya (guṇa by the rule P.7.3.84)

= dhvarya

By the rule P.3.1.124 there is the scope for the application of ṆyaT suffix, as dhvṛ is a ṛ ending root, by the nipātana the yaT suffix is applied.

khanya P.3.1.123

= khan + yaT (by the nipātana)

= khan + ya (t elides by the rules P.1.3.3 and P.1.3.9)

= khanya

There is the scope for the application of ṆyaT suffix, but by the nipātana the yaT suffix is applied.

khānya P.3.1.123

khan + ṆyaT (by the nipātana)

= khan + ya (ṇ and t elide by the rules P.1.3.7, P.1.3.3 and P.1.3.9)

= khān + ya (vṛddhi by the rule P.7.2.116)

khanya and khānya are given as nipātana . They are respectively from khan with yaT and ṆyaT suffixes. In that sense they look regular forms.

But in the pāninian procedure the regular form is kheya according to the sūtra ī ca khanaḥ P.3.1.111. Therefore, the possibility that khanya and khānya are regular forms is ruled out. The nipātana indicates that only kheya is the regular form in paninian procedure.

From the root khan, three forms are available kheya, khanya and khānya. Out of these three forms only kheya is available in the classical literature. The other two forms i.e. khanya and khānya are found in pre-pāṇinian literature.

khánya = khányābhyaḥ svāhā TS- 7.3.13.1.

khānyá - khanitreṇa jivanāni yattatara khānyám syāt tena jivet -
lāṭyāyana śrauta sūtra 8.2.4.5

devayajyā - P.3.1.123

deva + yaj + yaT (by the nipātena)
= devayaj + ya (t elides by the rules P.1.3.3, and P.1.3.9)
= devayajya + Tāp (by the rule P.4.1.4)
= devayajyā (t and P elide by the rule P.1.3.7 and P.1.3.3 and P.1.3.9).

As yaj is a consonant ending root, there is the scope for the application of NyaT suffix, but by the nipātana the yaT suffix is applied.

āpṛcchya = P.3.1.123

= ā + prach + kyaP (by the nipātana)

= ā + pra + tu k + ch + kyaP (tuk is added by the rule P.6.1.73)

= ā + pra + t + ch + kyaP (u and k elide by the rule P.1.3.2, P.1.3.3. and P.1.3.9)

= ā + pracch + kyaP (t becomes c by the rule P.8.4.40)

= ā + pracch + ya (k and p elide by the rules P.1.3.8 P.1.3.3 and P.1.3.9)

= ā + pṛcch + ya (by the rule P.6.1.16)

= ā + pṛcchya = āpṛcchya

There is the scope for the application of NyaT suffix but by the nipātana the kyaP suffix is applied for which there is the samprasāraṇa in the form āpṛcchya.

pratiśivya - P.3.1.123

prati + śiv + kyaP (by the nipātana)

prati + śiv + ya (k and p elide by the rules P.1.3.8, P.1.3.3 and P.1.3.9)

= prati + śiv + ya (ś becomes ṣ by the rule ādeśapratya-yayoḥ P.8.3.59)

= prati + ṣīv + ya (dīrghādeśa by the rule halica P.8.2.77)

As the root śiv is a halanta root, there is the scope for the application of ṆyaT suffix. But by the nipātana kyaP is applied.

brahmavādyam - P.3.1.123

brahman + ṅas + vad + ṆyaT (by the nipātana)

= brahman + o + vad + ṆyaT (by the rule supo dhātuprātipadikayoḥ P.2.4.71 ṅas goes away).

= brahma + vad + ṆyaT (n elides by the rule nalopaḥ prātipadikāntasya P.8.2.7)

= brahma + vad + ya (n and t go away be the rules P.1.3.7, P.1.3.3 and P.1.3.9)

= brahma + vād + ya (vṛddhi by the rule P.7.2.116)

= brahmavādya.

By the rule P.3.1.106, there is the scope for the application of both yaT and kyaP suffix to the root vad . But by the nipātana, ṆyaT suffix is applied.

bhāvya - P.3.1.123

bhu + ṆyaT (by the nipātana)

= bhu + ya (n and t elide by the rules P.1.3.7, P.1.3.3 and P.1.3.9)

= bhau + ya (vṛddhi by the rule P.7.2.115)

= bhāv + ya (avādeśa by the rule P.6.1.79)

= bhāvya

The word bhāvya is available in vedic literature i.e. in Jaimineya Sāmaveda - 2.3.8 with ādyudātta accent. But the formation bhāvya with ṆyaT suffix gives the antasvarita as the accent. No suffix is prescribed by P which can give us at a time vṛddhi and ādyudātta accent. So for the accent ādyudātta it is a nipātita form. Otherwise bhāvya with antasvarita accent can be derived by the regular formative procedure.

stāvya - P.3.1.123

- stu + ṆyaT (by the nipātana)

= stu + ya (ṇ and t elide by the rules P.1.3.7, P.1.3.3 and P.1.3.9)

= stāu + ya (vṛddhi , by the rule P.7.2.115)

= stāv + ya (āvādeśa by the rule P.6.1.79)

= stāvya

By the rule P.3.1.109, there is the scope for the application of kyaP suffix. But by the nipātana ṆyaT is added and the desired form is available.

upacāyyaprḍa - P.3.1.123

upa + ci + ṆyaT + prḍa (by the nipātana)

= upa + cai + ṆyaT + prḍa (vṛddhi by the rule P.7.2.115)

= upa + cai + ya + prḍa (ṇ and t elide by the rules P.1.3.7, P.1.3.3 and P.1.3.9).

upacāy + ya + prḍa (āyādeśa by the nipātana) = upacāyyaprḍa.

As the root ci is an ajanta dhātu, there is the scope for the application of yaT suffix. But by the nipātana, ṆyaT suffix is applied which vṛddhi and āyādeśa are taken place. Otherwise the regular form would be upacayaprda.

As these are all vedic formations no corresponding sūtras are available in any of the post paninian grammar.

anāyya - anāyyo'nitye P.3.1.127

ā + nī + ṆyaT (by the nipātana)

= ā + nai + ṆyaT (vṛddhi by the rule P.7.2.115)

= ā + nai + ya (ṇ and t go away by the rules P.1.3.7, P.1.3.3 and P.1.3.9)

= ā + nāy + ya (āyādeśa by the nipātana)

= ānāyya

This rule comes under the category of semantic nipātana. As nī is an ajanta dhātu, there is the scope for the application of yaT suffix. But by the nipātana the ṆyaT suffix is applied and āyādeśa taken place.

The corresponding rules of the other grammars are the following.

S. 4.2.39

C. 1.1.136

D. 2.1.104

Ś. 4.3.65

Bh. 1.3.181

H. 5.1.25

V. 975

In SV and Jmv, the corresponding rules are not available. In KV, the author S has not followed the paninian way of derivation. He has derived the form ānāyya by the regular formative procedure. But P has derived this form in nipātana and the remained other grammarians have followed him.

pranāyya - pranāyyo'sammattau P.3.1.128

pra + nī + ṆyaṬ (by the nipātana)

= pra + nai + ṆyaṬ (vṛddhi by the rule P.7.2.115)

= pra + nai + ya (ṇ and ṭ elide by the rules P.1.3.7, P.1.3.3 and P.1.3.9)

= pra + nāy + ya (āyādeśa by nipātana)

= pra + ṇāy + ya (ṇ tva by the rule upasargādasamāse'pi ṇopadeśasya - P.8.4.14)

= pranāyya

As the root nī is a vowel ending root, there is the scope for the application of yaṬ suffix, but by the nipātana ṆyaṬ suffix is applied and āyādeśa is taken place.

The corresponding sūtras of other grammars are the following.

S. 4.2.39

C. 1.1.135

D. 2.1.104

Ś. 4.3.65

Bh. 1.3.176

H. 5.1.23

V. 975

In SV and Jmv, the corresponding rules are not available.

In this sūtra except S, all other post paninian grammarians have followed the paninian way of derivation i.e. they have all derived the form pranāyya in the nipātana. But only S has derived this form in regular procedure. It also comes under the category of the semantic nipātana.

pāyya - pāyyasāmnnāyyanikāyyadhāyyā mānahavirnivāsa-sāmidheniṣu P.3.1.129

mā + ṆyaT (by the nipātana)

= mā + ya (ṇ and t elide by the rules P.1.3.7, P.1.3.3 and P.1.3.9)

= pā + ya (mā changes to pā by the nipātana)

= pā + yuk + ya (by the rule ātoyukciṇkṛtob, P.7.3.33)

= pā + y + ya (u and k elide by the rules P 1.3.2, P.1.3.3 and P.1.3.9)

= pāyya

The root mā is an ajanta dhātu, so by the rule P.3.1.97, yaT suffix should be applied but by the nipātana ṆyaT suffix is applied and m (mā)becomes p. But S and C in KV and CV respectively have derived the form

pāyya from the root pa but not from √mā . Apart from these two grammarians all others have followed P i.e. they have derived the form from the root mā.

sānnāyya - P.3.1.129

sam + nī + ṆyaT (by the nipātana)

= sam + nī + ya (ṇ and ṭ go by the rules P.1.3.7, P.1.3.3 and P.1.3.9)

= sam + nai + ya (vṛddhi by the rule P.7.2.115)

sam + nāy + ya (āyādeśa by the nipātana)

= sām + nāy + ya (vṛddhi by the nipātana)

= sāṁ + nāy + ya (ṃ become anusvāra by the rule mo'nusvārah P.8.3.23)

= sān + nāy + ya (anusvāra changes to n which is savarṇa here by the rule vā padāntasya P.8.4.59).

= sānnāyya

There is the scope for the application of yaT suffix as nī is an ajanta dhātu. But by the nipātana the suffix ṆyaT is applied, āyādeśa has taken place and there is dīrghatva in upasarga i.e. sam becomes sām.

nikāyya - P.3.1.129

= ni + ci + ṆyaT (by the nipātana)

= ni + ci + ya (ṇ and ṭ elide by the rules P 1.3.7, P.1.3.3 and P.1.3.9).

= ni + ki + ya (c becomes k by the nipātana)

= ni + kai + ya (vṛddhi by the rule P.7.2.115)

= ni + kāy + ya (āyādeśa by nipātana)

= nikāyya

There is the scope for the application of yaT suffix, but by the nipātana, the ṆyaT suffix is applied, c in (√ ci) becomes k and āyādeśa has taken place.

dhāyya - P.3.1.129

= dhā + ṆyaT (by the nipātana)

= dhā + ya (ṇ and t go away by the rules P.1.3.7 and P.1.3.3 and P.1.3.9)

= dhā + yak + ya (yuk is added by the rule P.7.3.33)

dhā + yuk + ya (y is added at the end by the rule P.1.1.46)

= dhā + y + ya (u and k elide by the rules P.1.3.2, P.1.3.3 and P.1.3.9)

= dhāyya + ṭāp (by the rule ajādyataṣṭāp P.4.1.4)

= dhyāyya + ā (by the rules P.1.3.7, P.1.3.3 and P.1.3.9) t and p go away respectively)

= dhāyyā (by the P.6.1.101).

There is the scope for the application of yaT suffix but by the nipātana ṆyaT suffix is applied.

The corresponding rules of the other grammars are the following.

S. 4.2.38,

S. 4.2.42

D. 1.1.136

D, 2.1.104

Ś 4.3.65

Bh. 1.3.177

Bh. 1.3.179

H. 5.1.24

V. 975

The corresponding rules in SV and Jmv are not available. S, the author of KV has given two rules for P.3.1.129. The rule S.4.2.38 describes pāyya and dhāyya and the rule S.4.2.42 describes sānnāyya and nikāyya . The author has derived the forms pāyya and dhāyya in regular procedure. The forms sānnāyya and nikāyya are derived by the nipātana like P. Apart from him, all other grammarians have derived these four forms in the nipātana procedure like P.

kuṇḍapāyya - kratau kuṇḍapāyyasamcāyyau P.3.1.130

kuṇḍa + ṭā + pā + ṆyaT (by the nipātana)

= kuṇḍa + o + pā + ṆyaT (by the rule P.2.4.71 .ṭā is elided)

= kuṇḍa + pā + ya (ṇ and t elide by the rules P.1.3.7 P.1.3.3 and P.1.3.9)

= kuṇḍa + pā + yuk + ya (yuk is added by the rule P.7.3.33)

= kuṇḍa + pā + yuk + ya (yuk becomes antyāvayava by the rule P.1.1.46)

= kuṇḍa + pā + y + ya (u and k are elided by the rules P.1.3.2, P.1.3.3 and P.1.3.9)

= kuṇḍapāyya

As the root pā is an ajanta root, there is the scope for the application of yaT suffix, by the rule P.3.1.97 . But by the nipātana, the ṆyaT suffix is applied.

saṁcāyya - P.3.1.130

sam + ci + ṆyaT (by the nipātana)

= sam + ci + ya (ṇ and t are elided by the rules P.1.3.7, P.1.3.3 and P.1.3.9)

= sam + cai + ya (vṛddhi by the rule P.7.2.115)

sam + cāy + ya (āyādeśa by the nipātana)

sañ + cāy + ya (by the rules P.8.4.58 and P.8.4.59)

= sañcāyya.

There is the scope for the application of yaT suffix, as ci is a vowel ending root. But by nipātana, the ṆyaT suffix is applied and āyādeśa is taken place.

The corresponding rules in other grammars are the following :

S. 4.2.40
C. 1.1.137
D. 2.1.105
Ś. 4.3.64
Bh. 1.3.180
H. 5.1.22
V. 975

In SV and Jmv, the corresponding rules are not available. In KV, the forms kundapāyya and sañcāyya are derived by the regular formative procedure. But P has derived by the nipātana. All other grammarians except S have followed P. This rule comes under the group of semantic nipātana.

paricāyya - eṇau paricāyyopacāyyasamuhyāḥ P.3.1.131

pari + ci + ṆyaT (by the nipātana)
= pari + ci + ya (ṇ and t are elided by the rules P.1.3.7, P.1.3.3 and P.1.3.9)
pari + cāy + ya (āyādeśa by the nipātana)
= paricāyya

There is the scope for the application of yaT suffix but by the nipātana, the ṆyaT suffix is applied and āyādeśa is taken place.

upacāyya - P.3.1.131.

upa + ci + ṆyaT (by the nipātana)

upa + ci + ya (ṇ and ṭ are elided by the rules P.1.3.7, P.1.3.3 and P.1.3.9)

= upa + cāy + ya (āyādeśa by the nipātana)

= upacāyya

There is the scope for the application of the yaT suffix but by the nipātana , the ṆyaT suffix is applied and āyādeśa is taken place.

samūhya = P.3.1.131

sam + vah + ṆyaT (by the nipātana)

= sam + vah + ya (ṇ and ṭ are elided by the rules P.1.3.7 P.1.3.3 and P.1.3.9)

sam + u + ah + ya (samprasāraṇa by the nipātana)

= sam + u' + h + ya (by the rule ṅasiṅasośca P.6.1.108)

= sam + ū + hya (vṛddhi by the nipātana)

= samūhya

The suffix ṆyaT is applied here. But samprasāraṇa and dirghatva are taken place for the nipātana.

According to vārtikakāra and bhāṣyakāra , this form should not be in nipātana. But the word samūhya is only available in the accent antasvarita in TS

and KS.[378] There is no suffix which can bring samprasāraṇa and the accent antasvarita at a time, for which the ṆyaT suffix is applied (for the accent antasvarita) and samprasāraṇa is made by nipātana.

The corresponding rules of the other grammars are the following :

S. 4.2.43

C. 1.1.137

D. 2.1.105

Ś. 4.3.66

Bh. 1.3.181

H. 5.1.25

V. 975

In SV and Jmv , the corresponding sūtras are not available. All other grammarians have followed the paninian derivation in this rule. The rule comes under the category of semantic nipātana.

citya - cityāgnicitye ca P.3.1.132.

= ci + kyaP (by the nipātana)

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378. a) .. samūhyaṁ cinvīta paśukāma ... TS 5.4.11.2.

b) samūhyo'si viśvavedā .... KS 5.8.5.

= ci + ya (k and p go away by the rules P.1.3.8, P.1.3.3 and P.1.3.9)

ci + tuk + ya (tuk āgama by the rule P.6.1.71)

= ci + t + ya (u and k are elided by the rules P.1.3.2 P.1.3.3 and P.1.3.9)

= citya

There is the scope for the application of yaT suffix but by the nipātana, kyaP suffix is applied. Because the form requires prohibition of guṇa and vṛddhi and there should be tuk āgama, for which the kyaP suffix is required.

P has derived this form in the nipātana by the kyaP suffix. All of the post paninian grammarians have also derived the form in the nipātana. Still some differences are found, C and Bh have derived the form citya in nipātana by the kyaP suffix like P, D, Ś, H and V have derived the form by the ṆyaT suffix in the nipātana. S has not mentioned any suffix in KV. But he has mentioned the sūtra in GHyaṆ prakaraṇa.

agnicityā P.3.1.132

agni + ṅas + ci + ya (by the nipātana)

= agni + 0 + ci + ya (ṅas is zero by the rule P.2.4.71).

= agni + ci + tuk + ya (tuk āgama by the nipātana)

= agni + ci + t + ya (u and k are elided by the rules P.1.3.2, P.1.3.3 and P.1.3.9)

= agni + ci + t + ya + ṬāP (ṬāP by the rule P.4.1.4)

= agnicitya + ā (t and p are elided by the rules P.1.3.7, P.1.3.3 and P.1.3.9)

= agnicityā (by the rule P.6.1.101, dīrghādeśa)

The suffix ya is used in the form agnicityā, which is not at all available in P's grammar. There is no single suffix in the kṛtya section, which can derive the above form, with its proper accent. Because, the form agnicityā requires, the prohibition of guṇa and vṛddhi and the tuk āgama. Its accent is antodātta.[379]

The suffix ya is applied here according to Nyāsa and kāśikākāra.[380] The tuk-āgama is made here by the nipātana.

The corresponding rules of other grammars are the following.

S.4.2.44

C.1.1.138

D.2.1.105

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379. agnicityāṁ yaha ca anagnicityāyāṁ .. Ś B.6.6.1.1

380. a) cf. the Nyāsa, "tasmāt prakṛtam tyaktvā yapratyayo nipātyata iti bhāvaḥ "
Śāstrī D and Śukla K.P., Opcit. p.525

b) cf. the kāś. "bhāve yakārapratyayaḥ tuk ca "
Śarmā A., op.cit. p.206

Ś. 4.3.66

Ś. 4.3.76

Bh. 1.3.182

H. 5.1.25

H. 5.1.37

V. 975

In SV and Jmv, the corresponding sūtras are not available. All of the post-paninian grammarians have followed P. i.e. they have all derived the form in the nipātana process still some differences are found. Because according to C, D, Ś, Bh and H, the form is formed by the KyaP suffix in the nipātana. According to V, the above form is formed by ṄHyaṆ (= ṆyaT) in the nipātana. S in KV has not mentioned any suffix by which this form is formed in the nipātana. But he mentioned this rule in ṄHyaṆ prakaraṇa.

It is clear from a detailed study of the nipātana in the kṛtya section of all the grammars that the main aim of using nipātana technique, is to attain brevity in the description of forms. If, instead of nipātana technique, the sanskrit grammarians had adopted the regular grammatical process to generate the kṛtya formations, they would have required at least double the sūtras which give nipātana. Secondly, it would have unnecessarily

created somemore techniques as exceptions to the present techniques. The technique of nipātana therefore, was necessiated by the need of convenance of brevity.

Moreover, as we have seen above, the technique of nipātana is an extention of the technique of ādeśa. This technique seems to have a long history going back to primary stage of collecting word data, in pre-pāṇinian days, as the legend of Indra and Bṛhaspati quoted by Ptj. in his MBH shows.

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CHAPTER - IV

• LINGUISTIC AND GRAMMATICAL PRINCIPLES •

LINGUISTIC AND GRAMMATICAL PRINCIPLES

We are now, it is felt, in a better position to find out the linguistic principles adopted by P in the description of Sanskrit language. P's Ast., it is well known is a titly framed, well conceived and self-sufficient grammatical system with the admirable touch of comprehensiveness and it has influnced all the grammatical system, pre-paninian or post-paninian, to such a great extent that any form which cannot be explained with paninian rules has come to be dubbed as ungrammatical and non sanskritic. It is therefore, absolutely necessary to study the linguistic principles underlined the paninian analysis which have given us an impression of infallibility.

But, there is a great difficulty and the difficulty lies in the fact that P has no where enunciated the linguistic principle underlying the grammatical analysis. We have to infer them by studying very closely the Ast.

The only source which has tried to find out these principles is Ptj.'s MBH. Ptj. has always tried to justify and interprete paninian rules and grammatical procedure on the basis of some linguistic principles. The first

and foremost linguistic principle assumed by P according to Ptj. is given as on the sūtra arthavadadhāturapratyayaḥ P.1.2.45. "na vā pratyayena nityasaṁvandhāt kevalasyā-prayogaḥ"[8]. navaiṣa doṣaḥ· kiṁ kāraṇaṁ· pratyayena nityasaṁbandhāvetavarthau prakṛtiḥ pratyaya iti pratyayena nityasaṁbandhāt kevalasya prayogo na bhaviṣyati · anyadbhavānpṛṣtoanyadācaṣṭe. āmrānpṛṣṭaḥ kovidārānācaṣṭe. arthavattā nopapadyate kevalenāvacanāditi bhavānaṁ ābhiścoditaḥ Kevalasyāprayoge hetumāha. evaṁ ca kila nāma kṛtvā codyate samudāyasyārtheprayogādavayavānāma parisiddhiriti ".[381]

In modern terminology, we can say that pratyaya is assumed to be a compoulsary category for any word to usable in the language. Thus, if we represent the prātipadika or dhātu by the symbol R (meaning root i.e. basic entity or prakṛti), and the declensional (SUP) and or the conjugational tiṄ pratyayas by the symbol S, we can represent any form with the following symbolic expression as :

i) Rāmasya = Rāma + sya
= R + S [382]

ii) atti
= ad + ti
= R + S

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381. Abhyankar V. (Ed.) vyākaraṇa Mahābhāṣya, op.cit. p.532.
382. For a detail discussion see the foot note No.368.

So the formula R+S can be said to be the general formula for any formation in Sanskrit according to P.

But we do not have only simple structure like the above in Sanskrit. We have also complicated structures like gacchati which consists of, according to P, three terms like gaccha + a i.e. śap + ti . In such cases we have to add one more g in the above formula and the general formula can be expanded to $R+S_1+S_2$. This new formula is not the one which is entirely or basically different from the original one but is an extention of the original formula. Once we fix the boundary of a form as R on one side and S on the other side, we can add Ss in between.

But this assumption of P that a form is composed of the two categories of prakṛti and pratyaya as enunciated by Ptj. does not solve the problem but creats another problem out of it. The new problem that crops up is, why is it necessary for P to assume the two-term structure for a sanskrit word ?

If we fallow the paninian procedure, we get the impression that first P assumes a prakṛti (verbal or nominal) and then goes on adding the different suffixes, taddhita or kṛdanta and finally ends with the suP and

tiṄ suffixes. In this procedure it is not necessary to assume that pratyaya is a compulsory category.

Then why did Ptj. say what he has said above ? Was he misrepresenting P ?

But the answer to the question is not difficult to find. The answer lies in the fact that in Sanskrit no form is usable without the application of a sUP or a tiṄ pratyaya. We can not simply use rāma without any sUP suffix or gaccha without a tiṄ suffix. So it is because of the demands of the nature of the Sanskrit language that P and any other post-Paninian grammarians for that matter would be compelled to assumed the pratyaya as the compulsory category.

The pratyaya is a compulsory category in Sanskrit language. Not only that the pratyaya plays such an important role in Sanskrit language that even in some cases verbal forms which is formed by the addition of some sorts of pratyayas get the pratyaya in the language. Cf. the rule bhavaterah P.7.4.73. Here in this example the form bhavati, a verbal form gets the suffix Ṅas, the genetive singular suffix of the sUP pratyaya. Here in this stage the word bhavati is not a verbal form but becomes a word and then a prātipadika and gets

the suffix Naa. So from this above illustration it is clear that how the Sanskrit language is inflected by the pratyaya.

This fact gives us a further clue to P's approach to linguistic description when he is assuming that pratyaya is a compulsory category, but he starts with the language every-day communication. As we know a sanskrit sentence is a full of words which have the suP or tiN endings. It is this sanskrit sentence or in other words this structure of sanskrit words as used in spoken language that P starts with. This clearly leads us to conclusion that P starts with the weed or spoken fullform word structure. He does not start his analysis of sanskrit language with any hypothetical or imaginary bases, either prakṛti or pratyaya. In other words his approach is purely structural. In that sense P can be called a purel structuralist or a structural analyst. For P the √ gam > gaccha is not hypothetical but is derived from forms of root gam in the spoken language, like gacchati, agacchat, gamiṣyati, jagāma etc. By careful spliting up of these usable forms P arrived at certain minimum basic roots, either prātipadika or dhātu, from which he again tried to account the usable forms with the help of certain formal procedures in his grammar. It is therefore, intresting to note that P starts with say gamiṣyati arrives at the root gam > gaccha and then again

goes to account for the form gamiṣyati . We also find then the same structural approach is adopted by all the post-paninian grammarians. Not only this but also all of them have accepted the paninian dhātupāṭha in toto.

The same structural approach is visible in P's grammar on the level of grammatical description. Let us illustrate the point with an example.

Take the forms bhavati and atti. P first explains the form bhavati as

bhū + śaP + tiP (śaP is by the rule kartariśap P.3.1.68 and tiP is by the rule tiptasjhisipthastha... P.3.4.78)

= bhū + a + ti (Ś and P elide by the rules laśakvataddhite P.1.3.8, halantyam P.1.3.3 and tasya lopaḥ P.1.3.9).

= bho + a + ti (guṇa by the rule sārvadhātukārdhadhātukayoḥ P.7.3.84).

= bhav + a + ti (avādeśa by the rule ecoyavāyavaḥ P.6.1.77)

= bhavati

Represented symbolically, as we have done above the deep structure of form is as follows.

Let us look to the formal procedure atti as given by P. It is as follows

ad + śaP + tiP (śaP and tiP are added by the rules karttari śaP P.3.1.68 and tiptasjhi P.3.4.78)

= ad + a + ti (ś and p go away by the rules laśakvataddhite and halantyan P.1.3.3 and tasyalopah P.1.3.9).

= ad + ti (śaP is elided by the rule adiprabhṛtibhyah P.2.4.72).

= atti (d becomes t by the rule khari ca P.8.4.55)

When we compare the surface structure, that is, the structures as used in the language of the forms bhavati and atti. We as lay man can analyse them simply as bhav + a + ti and ad + ti respectively, without assuming the middle a i.e. śaP in the form atti. From our common point of view, there is no necessity to assume a middle a and then again zero it. Why did then P state an uncommon procedure which is beyond understanding of a common lay man ?

The answer to the question is provided by the same structural approach explained above. What P does is that he starts with the maximum form which has the maximum numbers of terms on the level of deep structure (as in the case of bhavati = $R+S_1+S_2$, (which has the three terms) and then goes to the account for the minimum form which has the minimum number of terms on the level of deep structure (as in the case of atti = R+S, which has only two terms). In this process since he first assumes the maximum number of terms, he has to substract the excessive elements from the minimum form, this seems to be the general principles of linguistic analysis of P.

If on the other hadd instead of starting from the maximum form and going to the minimum P had started with the minimum and then gone to the maximum, he would have been compelled to add the excessive terms in between. The additional elements would have been identical with the āgama. Thus the analysis supports our previous findings (in chapter No.3), that the techniques of zero i.e. lopa and āgama are opposite to each other.

If, we now compare this structural approach adopted by P in the case of dhātus and compare it with that which is adopted in the case of the present kṛtya formations, we are supprised to note that P has not

adopted this structural approach in the case of kṛtya pratyayas. This is the evidence even in the single case of kṛtya formation. This clearly evident from the fact that there is not a single case in which the technique of zero is used by P and the technique of zero, as we have seen above is the definite test to decide whether the approach is structural or not. And this is a very strange thing viz. that why P discard this structural approach totally in the case of kṛtya formations. The answer to this problem is not difficult to seek. For the kṛtya formations in general and kṛdanta formations in particular, P's basis of starting the description is the readymade dhātupāṭha in which all the roots are carefully enumerated by P. This means that for the kṛtya formations P's basic assumption is that they basically consist of a two term's structure. That is to say there is a root + a kṛtya suffix

R + S (a kṛtya suffix)

Thus the formula for the kṛtya formation will be R+S, and then the declensional suffix viz. sUP will follow. In the case of the verbal forms on the other hand P's assumption is of a three term structure viz. there is a root-R, there is a vikaraṇa - S_1, then comes the tiÑ suffix - S_2. Thus we find that in the case of the kṛtya suffixes P is generation a form from the minimum base

while in the case of the roots or dhātus P was describing the form (say the form atti) with reference to maximum explanation of its type say (bhavati). So we see that in simple language in the case of roots P was approaching from the maximum to minimum. While in the case of the krtya suffixes he was generating from the minimum to maximum. It is because of this difference in approach that no case of zero eccauring any where is available in the case of the krtya suffixes. In this regard the quotation from Dr.M.D.Pandit's thesis well explains this point and throws a good light on the paninian principles of linguistic procedure.[383] Such a state of affair, however, does not prevail in the case of the past-passive participal formations. As we have seen above, what the grammarians have done is that they have assumed the structure of the past-passive participials as composed of only two morphemes viz. the prakrti which is the verbal root here and the pratyaya which is the past passive participial suffix - ta in the present case. And in no case of the past passive participial formations, do we find an exampbe of a three morpheme or three term structure being assumed. It is this fact which has led all the grammarians to describe even

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383. Cf. Pandit M.D., A comparative study of all Sanskrit grammars, Op.cit. pp.244 to 250.

those past-passive participial formations, which display an additional item viz. i (= idāgama of the grammarians) and which could have been in that case analysed as possessing three terms, - viz. the root, the āgama i and the suffix - ta - , as being constituted only two and not three, morphemes.

1.1.1. An Objection :

But one may object to the above observation, namely that the grammarians have assumed the structure of the past-passive participial formation as being originally composed of only two morphemes, the prakṛti and the pratyaya and that of the conjugated verbal form as being originally composed of three morphemes, the prakṛti, the vikaraṇa and the pratyaya. The ground for raising such an objection is : If we examine only the pāṇinian sūtras stating the vikaraṇa and its lopa on the one hand and the idāgama and its absence on the other, we find that, he has followed in both the cases a consistent procedure in regard to the sūtra - arrangement. In both the cases, what he has done is that, he has treated first the cases in which both, the vikaraṇa on the one hand and the it on the other, are not available (cf. the pāṇinian sūtras about lopa; adiprabhṛtibhyaḥ śapaḥ , 2.4.72; juhotyādibhyaḥ śluḥ , 2.4.75; also cf. his sūtras about it : neḍ vasi

kṛti, 7.2.8; ekāca upadeśe'nudāttāt, 7.2.10 etc.) and he has gone to state the application of śap and it only afterwards (cf. his sūtras for śap, kartari śap 3.1.68; for śyan, divādibhyaḥ śyan, 3.1.69; etc. for it, cf. ārdhadhātukasyeḍ valādeḥ , 7.2.35). The numbering of the sūtras will easily convince one that the sūtras laying down the zero of vikaraṇa comes first, or prior to those stating the application of the vikaraṇas; so also, the sūtras dealing with the absence of it come first, or prior to those stating the application of iḍāgama. Pāṇini's method of sūtra - arrangement in both the cases of vikaraṇa and iḍāgama is thus consistent in the sense that he gives priority of treatment to those cases in which the vikaraṇas and the iḍāgama are not found. The cases displaying the existence of vikaraṇa and iḍāgama get a second place in his treatment. Similar is the state of affair in other grammars also, since, obviously, they have followed Pāṇini in principle. If, therefore, one applies the principle of assuming a three-morpheme structure as original in the case of the conjugated verbal forms, in spite of the fact that the existence of a three-morpheme structure is acknowledged by Pāṇini and others in later sūtras , he, as logical reasoning demands, must apply the same principle in the case of the past-passive participial formations also and come to the same conclusion. But in the present case, the two

conclusions in the two cases of vikaraṇa and of idāgama are not the same. The observation, therefore, namely that the structure of the past-passive participial formations is originally assumed to be consisting of only two morphemes and that the structure of the conjugated verbal forms is originally supposed to be constituted of three-morphemes is totally wrong and unwarranted by the evidence of the sūtra arrangement. Actually the sūtra - arrangement of Pāṇini in both the cases points to a conclusion which is quite the contrary, viz. that he (and also others) has assumed, in both the cases of vikaraṇa and idāgama, a two - morpheme structure as original; the concept of a three-morpheme structure comes later in his grammatical treatment.

1.1.2. Objection set aside :

The above objection appears quite logical, natural and sound, being based on the solid foundation of the arrangement of the sūtras in Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī ; and one cannot gain say the similarity in the arrangement of the two types of sūtra - groups, one dealing with the application and zero of the vikaraṇas and the other with the presence and absence of the idāgama. Yet, what matters here is the mode of statement. If we examine the manner, in which the negation of the vikaraṇa śap in the adādi group is stated, we find that it is negated by the word

luk which is one of the synonyms of the word lopa (ellision), cf. the sūtra, adiprabhṛtibhyaḥ śapaḥ 2.4.72, in which the word luk (= elision, zero) is to be borrowed from the previous sūtra, 2.4.58; as opposed to this the iḍāgama is negated by the use of the regular, explicit na (not) which is a regular niṣedha for applying the iṭ (which is laid down in the sūtras, ārdhadhātuka-svedavalādeḥ, 7.2.35); cf. the sūtras negating, the application of iḍāgama, ned vaśi kṛti, 7.2.8 etc. This means that though from a superficial point view there is no difference between these two statements, from the strictly technical point of view, the difference in the two statements reveals a difference in the approach to the two phenomena. When Pāṇini says that the śap in the case of adādi group is to be elided, he takes for granted that there is already a śap in the form atti. This means that, according to the Pāṇinian technique, the vikaraṇa śap is originally there, - or rather, has a right to be there - and then it is to be elided. In the case of the iḍāgama, however, Pāṇini flatly refuses to admit its existence in the basic form; the iḍāgama according to him is an outsider. This, however, is not the case with vikaraṇa. The vikaraṇa, according to him, is an organic part of the basic structure of the verb. All this shows that, in the case of the adādi- group, Pāṇinitakes a three - morpheme structure, composed of a

root, vikaraṇa and the pratyaya, for granted; in the case of the past-passive participials formations, on the other hand, as is clear from his straight - way negation of iḍāgama, he does not start with a three - morpheme-structure he starts with a two-morpheme structure, a root and the past-passive participials suffix - ta.

There is a strong reason for not adopting the three - morpheme structure as basic in the case of the past-passive participal formations. If we study the technique of zero,[98] adopted by Pāṇini, we find that on morphological plane the technique is employed only in the case of morphemes, which are basically minimal meaning units. And since the āgama iṭ conveys no meaning at all, it can not be, according to Pāṇini , brought under the technique of zero. The vikaraṇa, on the other hand, is a meaningful unit, a morpheme; it implies or connotes the two senses, viz. of "an active sense (cf. the word kartari in the Pāṇinian sūtra, kartari śap, 3.1.68), and of "the sārvadhātuka form" (cf. the word sārvadhātuka in the sūtra, sārvadhātuka yak 3.1.67, which is to be borrowed in the next sūtra, 3.1.68 quoted above). It is because of the basic difference between the two techniques that the statements about iḍāgama and vikaraṇa are different. And it is because of the difference between the, two statements that the

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98. M.D.Pandit, "Zero in Pāṇini ", JMSUB ,1962, pp.53-66.

conclusions regarding the hypothesis of the basic structures in the two cases, - of the conjugated verbal forms and the passive participial formations - , which are drawn above are different.

It is on account of the assumption of a basic two-term structure in the case of the past passive participials that the grammarians have been compelled to posit an additional infix i i.e. idāgama in the case of forms in which it occurs. It is this assumption of a two-term structure which completely does away with the concept and technique of zeroin the case of the past-passive participal formations. And the assumption of a two-term structure in the case of the past- passive participial is the result of the departature made by Pānini and others from the structural and comparative approach adopted in the case of the conjugated verbal forms.

The principle of language analysis underlying the description of the past-passive participial formation is, therefore, the assumption of a two-morpheme or two-term structure at the base. It is with reference to this two-term structure, basically assumed, that all other structures are explained. And all the sanskrit grammarians, without any exception have followed this principle." What is true in the case of past-passive participals as stated by

Dr. M.D.Pandit is applicable in toto to kṛdanta formations in general and kṛtya formations in particular.

Let us examine the situation, in the case of the verbal forms P compares the maximum form bhavati with the minimum form atti. We have a similar situation in the field of kṛtya suffixes also. Take the form stutya, (from the root stu) and śapyam (from the root śap) . If we analyse their structure, we find

stutya = stu + tūk + kyaP

= stu + t + ya = R + S_1 + S2

and śapya = śap + yaT

= śap + ya = R + S

In this situation P could have started with the maximum form stutya and gone to explain the minimum śapya by the technique of zero, by making the zero of t of the yaT suffix. But he does not do that. In spite of the fact that he had a scope to do it. The reason, why he does not do is that, the (tuk āgama) is not a meaningful morpheme like śap i.e. a which is a meaningful morpheme. This itself means that P could not find a meaningful third morpheme in the structure of the kṛtya suffixes. This fact compelled P to assume only a two-term structure in the case of the kṛtya suffixes and hence the approach to their analysis could not be structural i.e. from maximum

to minimum. This also explains a total absence of the technique of zero not only in the kṛtya field but in general in whole of the kṛdanta field.

The formal aspect

Every science has a particular subject for study. Physics for example deals with physical substances, their properties etc. Psychology with the behaviour of mind, Sociology with the society etc. Similarly linguistic in general and grammar in particular deals with the language. But there is a difference between linguistic on the one hand and the other sciences on the otherhand. Every science has to express its theory in some kind of language and so also linguistics has to explain its theory in some kind of language. For sciences, other than linguistic it is a simple matter because, the mideaum of expression viz. language is different from their subject matter. In the case of linguistics, however, the situation is different. The subject matter of linguistics viz. language is the same as the medium viz. language in which the linguistic theories are to be expressed and stated. And at this stage every linguist or grammarian faces a great difficulty. Because the language in which the linguistic theories are to be stated has to used the language itself in which everyday communications are

done. It is therefore, likely that the medium language can easily be confused with the used language or language used by the people. Here the linguistic is compelled to develop any language of his own, which can be described the spoken language. For example, if a grammarian states a rule like the following, the dhātu gam gets the kta suffix in a kartari sense. Now the problem comes, as the meaning of the word dhātu in everyday language is different from the grammatical language. The meaning of the word pratyaya is again different from the meaning in the common language, the word kartari again conveys a sense in grammar, which is different from the sense of the spoken language. In this state of affairs how can a grammatical statement like the above will make any correct grammatical sense to the common man or vice-versa the common man is likely to understand the statement in the common sense which will totally shake the very foundation or purpose of grammar composition or let us take another example of grammatical statement from P's Aṣṭ. itself to make the point more clear. Take the paninian rule agnerdhak P.4.2.33, which states that to agni, dhak pratyaya is to be applied. Now this statement is definitely going to be beyond the common understanding of a common man and if the common man does not understand the grammar, what is the use of grammar itself.

The ancient Indian grammarians were clever enough to understand and they surmount this difficulty. Accordingly

they develop their own technical language in which though certain words were borrowed from the common language, they conveyed a meaning which was different from the common meaning. For example, the word kartā, karma, karaṇa, adhikaraṇa etc. Besides they invented purely arbitrary terms like gha, ghi, ghu ṭi, bha etc. But the most marvellous device that they invented and employed is the subtle distinction between the form and its meaning. In the grammar the form of the word is important for following any grammatical procedure, its meaning is to be totally discarded. Thus in the above example agenrdhak P.4.2.33, what the word agnī means is not itse meaning i.e. the burning charcoals or fire. But the word agni composed of the sounds a - g - n -ī. This form of the word has nothing to do with its meaning.

P in his sūtra : svaṁ rupaṁ śabdasyāśabda saṁjñā P.1.1.68 clearly defines the scope of the grammar viz. the word in the grammar indicates its own form and not its meaning. Ptj. follows P, when he emphatically states that śabda is nothing but dhvani, cf. Ptj's discussion in the introductory portion of paśpaśānhika of MBH beginning with, "kastarhi śabdaḥ yenoccāritena sāsnālāṅgula-kakudakhuraviṣāṇināṁ saṁpratyayo bhavati sa śabdaḥ . athavā pratītapadārthakoḥ loke dhvaniḥ śabda ityucyate. tadyathā śabdaṁ kuru mā śabdaṁ kārṣīḥ .śabdakāryayaṁ

māṇavaka iti dhvanimkurvannevamucyate tasmād dhvaniḥ śabdaḥ "[384] Bhartṛhari, the author of vākyapadīyaṁ , in verse No.44 of āgamakāṇḍa clearly makes a distinction between formal aspect of the word and its semantic import. The verse runs like this

dvāvupādānaśabdeṣu
śabdau śabdavido viduḥ
eko nimittaṁ śabdānāṁ
aparo'rthe prayujyate.[385]

Bhartṛhari further explain this distinction and calls the formal aspect as "svarūponibandhana" which means bound with or resting on its own form. He explains this in verse no. 59 and 60 of the same āgamakāṇḍa. The verses run like this.[386]

vṛddhyādyo yathā śabdāḥ
svarūpopa nibandhanāḥ
ādaicpratyāyitaiḥ śabdaiḥ
sambandhaṁ yānti saṁjñibhiḥ . 59

agniśabdastathaivāyam -
agniśabdanibandhanaḥ
agniśrutaiti sambandham-
agniśabdābhidheyayā. 60

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384. Cf. Abhyankar V., (ED.) Vyākaraṇa Mahābhāṣya, Op.cit.pp.1-2.

385. Cf. Pillai K. Raghavan, Op.cit.p.9.

386. Ibid pp. 12-13.

Similarly other post-paninian grammarians have also defined the word in the same way as P has done. Unfortunately the other grammarians do not state in explicit terms, as P has done in the sūtra, P.1.1.71. To delimit the scope of grammar to the form of the word.

The instances on the pure formal aspect of the word is a very great contribution by P in the field of grammatical analysis, especially inview of the times in which P flourished. This speaks for the rare ingenuinity on the part of P.

The level in which the formal aspect is emphasized is called the meta-linguistic level and we will find that all the sanskrit grammarians including that of P are written in this type of meta-language.

In the present case of the kṛtya suffixes we find that P and all other grammarians have strictly adhered to the formal aspect in the linguistic description. Take for example, the sūtra śakiślhośca P.3.1.99. In this, the word śaki and śah represent nothing but their own form. Cf. also the sūtra vahyaṁ karaṇaṁ P.3.1.102 in which the word vahya signifies its own form. The grammarians have been quite successful in strictly demarcating

the lines between the formal aspect of the word and non-formal aspect of the word. The example for this can be multiplied from all the grammars.

Semantic Consideration in grammar

We have seen above, that according to P and consequently all the post-pāninian grammarians, the scope of the grammar restricts itself to only formal category. But if we go through P and other grammarians in general and through the chapter on kṛtya suffixes in particular we find a number of sūtras which state the meaning of the form also in giving the formal procedure. For example yaT, the suffix which is used for the formation of the word vahyaṁ in the rule vahyaṁ karaṇaṁ P.3.1.102 in which the meaning karaṇa is given. Likewise in the rule aryasvāmīvaiśyayoḥ P.3.1.103, upasaryā kālyāprajane P.3.1.104, ajaryaṁ saṁgatam P.3.1.105, bhūvo bhāve P.3.1.107 etc. in which the form is explained with reference to the meaning it conveys out of the 37 sūtras in P's grammar which deal with kṛtya suffixes. We are supprised to find that as many as 18 sūtras, where meaning is resorted to while explaining the form. This is rather perplaixing the form. This is rather perplaixing especially inview of the fact that grammar, according to P and other grammarians, vows to be strictly as formal as possible.

The answer to this problem is not difficult to find If we carefully examine the sūtras, in which the semantic import of the form is taken into consideration we find that, there is a formal change in the form according to the meaning it conveys. Thus in the example arya, in the sūtra P.3.1.103, the word arya means svāmī or vaiśya , while the word ārya means a brāhmaṇa . It is evident, therefore, that the change in form compiles well with the change in meaning and vice-versa a change in meaning agrees with the change in form. The change in form in the present example of ārya is brought about by the presence or absence of the vṛddhi in a to represent symbolically.

arya

= √ṛ + yaT (by the rule arya svāmīvaiśya yoḥ P.3.1.103)

= ṛ + ya (ṭ goes away by the rules halantyam P.1.3.3., and P.1.3.9.)

= ar + ya (guṇa by the rule sārvadhātukārdhadhātukayoḥ P.7.3.84).

= arya

symbolically arya = R + S

= R (without vṛddhi but with guṇa) + S

ārya

= √ṛ + ṆyaT

= ṛ + ya (ṇ and ṭ are elided by the rules P.1.3.7, P.1.3.3 and P.1.3.9)

= ār + ya (vṛddhi by the rule acoñniti P.7.2.115)

= ārya

Symbolically ārya = R + s

= R (with vṛddhi) + s

To make it more clear, we can say that the meaning svāmī and / or vaiśya resides in the guṇa of the root ṛ while the meaning brāhmaṇa resides in the vṛddhi of the root, so far as the rule arya svāmivaiśyayoḥ is concerned. In other words everymeaning that the grammarians take into consideration has some formal counterpart in the word. The meaning therefore, has some locos standi in the form. If such locas standi is not available for meaning, the grammarian will not take the meaning into consideration. They take the meaning into consideration only if the form changes according to the change in meaning and/or vice-versa meaning changes according to the form.

Besides, the location of the meaning in the formal category of guṇa and vṛddhi, as in the above case, so also the meaning resides in the formal category of the suffix. When the meaning of a form cannot be distinguished from another meaning, because there is no formal category in which the different in meaning resides, the grammarian will not take the meaning into consideration. Take for

example in case of the word hari, which has many meanings as we find in Amarakoṣa. The verse runs like this

yamānilendracandrārka
viṣnusimhāśuvājiṣu ,
śukāhikapibhekeṣu
harirnākapiletriṣu 387

But the difference in meaning cannot be explained on the ground of a reference to any formal category in the word, the grammarians cannot take such case in to consideration. Although the meaning of the word hari means many things, there is no formal change. In this case the grammarians do not take such cases in to consideration. It is beyond their scope. What is true in the case of the non-formal category of meaning is also true in the case of all the non-formal category like gender, number and the case.[388]

In this case the post-paninian grammarians also followed P. In their grammars , we find the corresponding rules for the sūtras, aryasvāmivaiśyayoh P.3.1.103, where

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387. Cf. Oka K.G., Amarakoṣa, (with the commentary Amarakoṣadghāṭana), P.214, Law Printing Press, Poona 1912.

388. a) cf. Pandit M.D., "Some linguistic principles in Pāṇini's grammar" Indian Linguistics, Vol.XXIV, pp.50-69, 1963.
b) Also cf. Pandit M.D. " Formal and non-formal in Pāṇini", ABORI, Vol LIVm pp.169-192, 1973.

all of them have agreed with P, so far as the semantic ground is concerned. The corresponding rules are :

S. 4.2.17

C. 1.1.114

D. 2.1.88

Ś. 4.3.73

Bh. 1.3.145

H. 5.1.33

V. 580

J. 145

Only in SV, we do not get the corresponding rule for this sūtra.

Not only in kṛtya suffixes but this phenomenon is observed throughout Aṣṭ. in general and kṛdanta section in particular. It is very difficult to decide When and where the meaning of the word is to be decided and when and where the meaning should not be taken into consideration. In ordinary language, the word and the meaning are also so closely connected with each other that it is impossible to imagine a word without its meaning. Is it necessary for the grammarian to restrict only to the forms or only to the meaning or to both of them ? If the grammarian is to consider only the form, then the grammar would be simply a machanical structure and if he considers only the meaning

his grammar will degenerate into a dictionary. On the other hand if he has to consider both the form and meaning, the question is about their relation and the extent to which the meaning should be considered in grammar. When we return to P for an answer, we find that out of 4000 sūtras, P has taken meaning in to consideration in about more than 1000 sūtras . The question now remains as to the extent of the influence of meaning in the form. Actually P in his sūtra : svam rūpam śabdasyāśabdasaṁjñā P.1.1.68 definitely proclaims that his grammar will restric itself to the form or śabdarūpa. Ptj. also agrees with P when he says atha śabdānuśāsanam. If it was otherwise, Ptj. would have said atha arthānuśāsanam or at least atha śabdārthānuśāsanam. But he also feels that a real grammar is only śabdānuśāsana. We have already seen the formal aspect in the kṛtya suffix.

Let us take one more example from the kṛdanta section. The example is alaṁ kṛtvā, This is available by the rule alaṁkhalvoḥ pratiṣedhayoḥ prācāṁ ktvā P.3.4.18. Which means that when the meaning of pratiṣedha (prohibition) is present for the avyaya alaṁ and khalu, the root gets the suffix ktvā , according to the eastern grammarians. The phrase alaṁ kṛtvā therefore, means enough of doing. That means it is

obvious that alaṁ stands for the prohibition, it means that you have done so much that further it does not require any more. If on the otherhand, the meaning of pratiṣedha is not present, in the same sense, the phrase will be mākārṣī , (do not do). Again if the form alaṁ, does not mean pratiṣedha, the phrase will be alaṁkṛtya. Here in this case, instead of ktvā suffix, the LyaP suffix will be added and the meaning also differs.

If we study the above example carefully, we find that the meaning affects the form of the word. If the meaning is pratiṣedha, the form is kṛtvā i.e. ending in tvā. If the meaning is apratiṣedha (non-prohibition), the form is kṛtya, i.e. ending in ya. So we can frame the general rule like the following . If the meaning brings about a change in the formal structure of the word, meaning should be taken in to consideration in grammer. Also reversely, if the formal structure changes according to meaning it conveys, meaning becomes necessary part of the grammatical explanation of the word. If we examine all the post-paninian grammars from this point of view, we find that, the rule holds good in all the cases without any exception.

We also get another interesting finding, if we closely examine P's grammar. The finding is that

the change of meaning is reflected in the change of suffix. In other words meaning resides in the suffix or termination.

In the above example

To explain alaṁ - tvā indicates pratiṣedha

To explain alaṁ - ya indicates apratiṣedha

The pratiṣedha or apratiṣedha resides in tvā or ya respectively. The same is true in all these examples.

Conversely also if there is change of meaning, without the change in the form, meaning does not become the part and parcel of the grammatical explanation. All other post-paninian grammarians have followed P in this connection.[389]

We have seen above (i.e. the meaning) that P has invested the meaning of the form in the suffix. Thus, while the formal structure of a sanskrit form. The form kartavya can be represented symbolically as

kartavya = kṛ + tavya (tavyattavyānīyar - P.3.1.96)

F = R+S

(Here F means the form, R stands for the root and S stands for the suffix.)

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389. For detail discussion of Das P.K., A comparative study of all Sanskrit grammars (with special reference to ktvā and LyaP) unpublished dissertation submitted to the University of Poona, pp.18-22, 1984.

The symbolic representation of the whole form together with its meaning will be as follows :

MF = MR + MS (in which "M" stands for the meaning)

In this equation the MF is known, because that is used in the language. In language, the meaning of the form or the word is used. MR can be known either from the language or from the paninian dhātupāṭha , prescribed by P. But even after knowing MR, we do not know the MS, i.e. the meaning of the suffix, because the suffix is a purely grammarian's contrivance. Consequently, therefore, it becomes necessary for the grammarian to state or explain in which sense the suffix is applied to the root to give out the correct meaning of the form in the language. Thus the scope of the semantic consideration in grammar restricted only to the explaination to the meaning of the suffix. The MF and partially MR cannot be touched by the grammarians. So P has exactly done the samethhing. He does not state what will be the meaning of the form kartavya, rather he can not consider the meaning of any form. He also does not state what is the meaning of the root kṛ, though of course he has given it in his dhātupātha as kṛ karane, which itself depend upon the root kṛ . Here in this case, both the meaning of the root and the root itself are complementary eachother. This is more true in the case

of the prātipadikas, whose meaning can not be given by the grammarians. As for example rāmasya = rāma + sya. Here the grammarian can justify the suffix and its meaning i.e. sya. But he has nothing to do with the prātipadika rāma. Because he cannot give any meaning to any prātipadika. Here in this case, the scope of the grammarian is limited. The only thing is left to P and all other grammarians is therefore, to state the meaning of the suffix in such a way that it will supplement the incomplete meaning of the root kṛ and will give out the full meaning of the form kartavya. P thereforep animated his suffixes with meaning and when added to R, they give out the full meaning of the form. The meaning therefore, resides in the suffix. All other grammarians have done the same thing i.e. they followed exactly the principle adopted by P.

Types of Meaning

The meaning with which the suffixes are invested is of two types.

i) Linguistic meaning

ii) Grammatical meaning.

The Linguistic Meaning

The meaning of the term linguistic meaning of a form is the meaning used in the language or by the people. The

linguistic meaning in the present case of the suffix tavya in the form kartavya is that of being worthy of , being able. "kartuṁ yogyaṁ kartavyam" So far as our present study of the kṛtya suffixes are concerned, as a general rule P has given the linguistic meaning of these suffixes which are very few in number. But the explanation of the linguistic meaning of the suffixes is abundantly found in the case of taddhita suffixes. Cf. the pāṇinian rule tasyedaṁ P.4.3.120, tasyāpatyaṁ P.4.1.92, tasmai hitam P.5.1.5, tasyeśvaraḥ P.5.1.42 etc. Let us examine an example from the taddhita formation as śaiva. The form is explained as śivasya apatyaṁ pumān iti. The child of śiva as śaiva.

The form can be explained as

śiva + aN (aN is a taddhita suffix here which is applied by the the rule tasyāpatyam P.4.1.92)

= śiva + a (ṇ goes away by the rules halantyam P.1.3.3 and tasyalopaḥ P.1.3.9)

= śaiva + a (vṛddhi by the rule, taddhiteṣu acāmādeḥ P.7.2.117)

= śaiva (a kāra ekādeśa by the rule ādguṇaḥ P.6.1.86).

In the above explained form, the meaning of the suffix is given. The meaning of the word śaiva means

means the child of śiva. We get the form śiva as śiva + aṆ (a). The suffix aṆ (a) here brings out the meaning of the child, because when it is added with the word śiva, it denotes the meaning as the child of śiva. So from this example it is proved that the meaning is invested in the suffixes. Yet, it must be remember that the linguistic meaning is given by P and other grammarians in the case of the nipātita formations, cf. the paninian rule aryasvāmī vaisyayoḥ P.3.1.103, upasaryākālyāprajane P.3.1.104, ajaryaṁ saṁgatam P.3.1.105, avadyapaṇya - varyā garhyapaṇitavyānirodheṣu P.3.1.101, vahyaṁ karaṇam P.3.1.102, puṣyasiddhau nakṣatre P.3.1.116, vipūyavinīyajityā muñjakalka haliṣu P.3.1.117, bhidyoddhyau nade P.3.1.115, ānāyyo'nitye P.3.1.127, praṇāyyo'sammatau P.3.1.128, pāyyasāṁnāyyanikāyyadhāyyāmānahavirnivāsasāmi-dhenīṣu P.3.1.129, kratau kuṇḍapāyyasaṁcāyyau P.3.1.130, agnau paricāyyopacāyyasamūhyāḥ P.3.1.131, cityāgni cityeca P.3.1.132. These are all the complete list of the nipātana sūtras, in which the linguistic meaning is given by P. All other post-paninian grammarians have also followed P in this matter. Like P, they have given the linguistic meaning in the corresponding sūtras* of P, mentioned above.

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* All the corresponding sūtras of all the post-paninian grammarians are stated in the chapter No. II.

There are very few sūtras in which the linguistic meaning of the suffix is given cf. the paṇinian rule bhṛño'asaṁjñāyām P.3.1.112, śakisahośca P.3.1.99, bhuvobhāve P.3.1.107, hanasta ca P.3.1.108, īca khanaḥ P.3.1.111. Likewise in the corresponding sūtras, all the post-paninian grammarians have given the meaning of the suffixes as it is done by P. As for example, take the rule bhṛño'saṁjñāyām.

The sūtra says that, the suffix kyaP will be added to the root bhṛñ (to bear), when it is not used as a name (saṁjñā).

bhṛ + kyaP = bhṛtya (asaṁjñāyām)
bhṛ + ṆyaT = bhārya (saṁjñāyām)

bhṛtya, the form is formed by the kyaP suffix means, "he who ought to be supported", on the one hand and on the other the meaning of bhāryaḥ , which is formed by the addition of ṆyaT suffix is a kṣatrīya.

We get the two forms from the root bhṛñ which means to bear. But the meaning of the both of the forms i.e. bhṛtya and bhārya are different, as we have seen above. These difference in meaning is due to the addition of the meaning of the suffix. Because bhṛtya means a servant or bhārya means a kṣatrīya, which definitely

different from the meaning of √ bhṛñ . It is because of the addition of the suffix with the root. To state more clearly, this meaning comes, when both the meaning of the root and the suffix mixed together. From the meaning to bear to the meaning either a servant or a kṣatrīya is because of the suffix either kyaP or ṆyaT. So from this illustration it is clear that the suffix has the meaning. Again if we contrast both the suffix kyaP and ṆyaT, we must agree that both of these suffixes are not same so far as their nature, form, anuvandhas and grammatical scope is concerned. So thats why the forms constituted by these two suffixes are different. If there would be no meaning of the suffixes, then the form would have been the same without any difference. As both these two suffixes giveout the different forms, it is obvious that the suffixes have the meanings, which are essential in grammar. Each independent suffix has got the independent nature and meaning. It is also true in other cases. It is also observed that all other post-paninian grammarians have followed this principle without any variation.

2. Grammatical Meaning

Statement or explanation of the grammatical meaning is the prime concern of the grammarians. Every word in the language is connected or related with other

words by a particular syntactic relation, hence grammatical meaning is identical with the syntactic meaning of the suffix. For example take the form kartavya, which means worthy of being done. Now when we come to use the word in the language, we face a problem as to whether it is a verb or a noun or a participial and secondly with which case it should be construed. Thus whether shall we say rāmaḥ kartavyaḥ or rāmam kartavyam or rāmeṇa kartavyam or rāmāya kartavyam or rāmāt kartavyam or rāmasya kartavyam or rāme kartavyam. In each case the meaning is different. The same is the case with other kṛtya formations. In other words our problem is whether the word to be used is to be construed with prathamā or dvitīyā or tṛtīyā or caturthī or pañcamī or ṣaṣṭhī or saptamī. Or shall the grammarian leave the matter of its syntactic relation wholly to the will of the speaker and not touch the subject at all ?

P initially and all other grammarians after him have chosen to touch the subject of explaining the grammatical or functional or syntactic meaning or relation of the suffix. They did not leave the subject to the will of the speakers. In this sense, the Sanskrit grammars fully stand taste of being complete grammars in the sense that they touch it and every grammatical aspect of language.

The paninian sūtra which explains the grammatical relation of the kṛtya suffixes is tayoreva kṛtyakta khaḷarthāḥ P.3.4.70. This rule says the kṛtya suffixes, the kta suffix and the khalartha suffix have only these last two senses, viz. bhāva and karma. As we find in the vṛtti of kāśikā. Cf. the vṛtti "tayoreva bhāvakarmaṇoḥ kṛtyasaṁjñakāḥ ktakhalarthāśca pratyayā bhavanti evakāraḥ karturapakaṣaṇārthaḥ kṛtyāḥ karmaṇi - kartavyaḥ kaṭo bhavatā. bhoktavya odano bhavatā bhāve - āśitavyaṁ bhavatā śayitavyaṁ bhavatā.[390]

The corresponding sūtras of other grammarians are as follows :

bhāvakarmaṇoḥ kṛtyaktakhalarthāḥ -	S.3.4.2.40.
bhāvāpyayoḥ	C.1.1.104.
tayorvyaktakhārthaḥ	D.2.4.55.
sāpyānāpyāllktaghyapkhārthāḥ karmabhāve -	Ś.4.3.55.
bhāvakarmaṇorānyataḥ	Bh. 1.3.127
tatsāpyānāpyāt karmabhāve -	
kṛtya ktakhalarthāśca	H.3.3.21
kṛtyādibhāvakarmaṇo reva - A	
kṛdvoḥ ka-bhāve	V.965

390. Cf. Śarmā, A.,Op.cit. p.308.

All these sūtras mentioned above from the post-paninian grammars confirm the statement that, all other grammarians have followed P in this regard. This paninian sūtra is an exception to the adhikāra sūtra-kartari kṛt P.3.4.67. What the sūtra kartari kṛt means is that the kṛt pratyayas are to be applied in a kartari sense. The sūtra laḥ karmaṇi ca bhāve cākarmakebhyaḥ P.3.4.69 states an exception that the lakāras can also be used in bhāve and karmaṇi sense. The present sūtra P.3.4.70 however, is a total exception to the above two sūtras and states that the suffixes called kṛtya, kta, and khalartha can be used only in bhāve and karmaṇi sense. Cf. BD on P.3.4.70, "ete bhāvakarmaṇreva syuḥ "[391] Note also the force of eva in the paninian sūtra and BD's commentary. The kṛtya suffixes are therefore, applied in an exclusive bhāve and karmaṇi sense and never in the kartari sense. This sūtra of P. gives us a clue to the syntactic relation of kṛtya suffixes in the language and it is that they can only be construed with either tṛtīyā (cf. the paninian sūtra anabhihite P.2.3.1, kartṛkaraṇayostṛtīya P.2.3.187, which state that in a karmaṇi sense tṛtīyā will be used) or with the general vibhakti ṣaṣṭhī śeṣe P.2.3.50.

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391. Vāsu, S.C.(Ed.), Siddhānta Kaumudī, Op.cit.p.2.

Therefore, so far as the syntactic meaning and relation of the kṛtya suffixes are concerned, here we have only two relations and they are either the tṛtīyā or the ṣaṣṭhī relation. But mainly it is a tṛtīyā relation. In this sense the kṛtya suffixes are functionally as per with the ātmanepada suffixes as kāśikā remarks on the sūtra bhāvakarmaṇoḥ P.1.3.13. The meaning of bhāva as given by padamañjarī is, "bhāvyata iti bhāvaḥ, ṇyantād bhavateḥ karmaṇi ghañ. dhātvarthaḥ kriyātmaka ucyate, karma tu pāribhāṣikam, ghañādividhau tu "bhāva" iti śuddhād bhavaterbhāve ghañ bhāvaḥ = sattā, dhātvarthasya siddhatāvasthocyate ayamapi niyamya iti darśayitumanyataḥ siddhimāha. And also by nyāsa, "bhāva iti dhātvorthaḥ kriyātmaka ucyate, karma tu paribhāṣikameva tatredamucyate niyamārtha iti viśeṣaḥ ayamapi purvavat pratyaya niyamaḥ - bhāvakarmaṇorevā-tmanepadaṁ bhavati, nārthaniyamaḥ arthaniyame sati " ko bhavatā dāyo dattaḥ " "ko bhavatā labdhaḥ iti karmaṇi ghañādidurlabhaḥ syāt ".[392]

The meaning of the karma is already defined by P in the sūtra karturīpsitatamaṁ karma P.1.4.49. The sūtra states the most desired object obtained by the agent through action is called karma.

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392. Cf. Śāstrī D and Śuklā K.P., Op.cit. vol. I, p.413.

It can be seen therefore, from the above discussion that meaning can form the part of grammatical explanation, If -

i) Meaning affects the form

ii) Change in form brings about a change in meaning.

iii) the meaning has some location in the form of the word.

We have already seen that mainly the meaning is of two types.

a) Linguistic meaning.

b) Grammatical meaning.

Grammatical meaning again is of three types, viz. kartari, karmani and bhāve. P and all other grammarians have used all these meanings to offer the grammatical description of the forms, when all or any one of the three conditions noted above are satisfied.

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CONCLUSION

In the previous pages an earnest effort has been made to observe critically the kṛtya suffixes as explained by the different schools of grammars. Stating the various rules from the different grammars, which describe the kṛtya formations, the general principle of linguistic analysis and grammatical description deduced from all this, now we are in a better position to evaluate the grammatical systems flourished after P.

After a keen observation, it can be remarked that, so far as the general principle of linguistic analysis and grammatical descriptions are concerned, all the grammarians, as has been mentioned above (chapter II, III, IV), follow the same principles of the descriptive technique, viz. the ādeśa, the āgama, the nipātana. No new method - no new technical device of linguistic and / or, grammatical analysis are found to have been invented by the post-paninian grammarians. All of them without any exceptien, follow the same principle which were adopted by P. Our observation is that, in most of the cases all of the post-paninian grammarians do not adopt a different line of thinking than the P's.

When we compare and go through the all of these grammars, we feel as if, we are dealing only with P's grammar ie. Ast. with a little variations, at some places, either in the wording or in the description of the forms or in the structure of the sūtras. The impression that is created after having the comparision of all the grammars is that, there is not at all any development or improvement in grammatical description and technique, linguistic analysis, but these are stagnated or even declined. It is surprised to note that the descriptive skill is declined or in some cases totally absent in some of the post-paninian grammars, mainly this tendency is marked very well in SV.

So far as the collection of new formations or new examples are concerned, some of the grammarians have cited new examples and new formations, as it is marked by R.Laxmi in her thesis, cf. "Pāṇini did the job of analysing the sanskrit language admirably well and has, on that account, richly deserved glowing tributes paid to him by both the ancient and modern scholars. Still, no human work is perfect. We saw that certain vedic forms escaped his notice, some of which were duly noted by his followers."[393]

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393. Laxmi R., Development of the traditional Sanskrit grammars, Unpublished doctoral dissertation submitted to the University of Poona, p.533,1973.

The above stated statement is also true in the case of kṛtya suffixes.

The post-paninian grammarians have also noted some new examples like corahatyā (in JV), śvahatyā (in HV), utkehyam, nikheyam (in ŚV), etc. But such cases are very few in number. But the post-paninian grammarians do not seem to have collected any new data on which P had worked several centuries before, without adding anything.

Does this stagnation in the field of linguistic and grammatical thought, as reflected in the post-paninian grammars, imply that most of the post-paninian grammarians were devoid of any descriptive skill or originality ? Were they so indolent to take up an intellectual exercise with an aim of making some improvement over the paninian system.

The possible explanation of this state of affairs may be cited as follows :

i) P, the master-mind scientific logician, the great linguist has presented Aṣṭ. after having keen observation of the contemporary available Sanskrit literature and linguistic phenomena. After him, Kātyāyana appeared on the scene and solved some of the deficiencies found in Aṣṭ. by writing voluminous vārtikas . After the great

Vārtikakāra Kātyāyana, the greatest commentator Ptj. came on the scene and provided the scientific, logical and linguistic grounds for whatever P has stated in his sūtras. Sometimes he has also tried to justify P against Kātyayana. So with the advent of these two great grammatical luminaries, Kātyāyana and Ptj.between P on the one hand and the post-paninian grammarians on the other, left hardly anything worth while, either by the way of providing new bases, techniques, or linguistic and grammatical principles or by way of making any significant additions or omissions. P's Aṣṭ together with Kātyāyana's Vārttikas and Ptj's MBH may be said to have already exhausted the entire field of linguistic theory and grammatical technique.

ii) The proper investigation of all the post-paninian grammarians gives us the idea that, none of them have made a sincere effort to surpass the paninian skill and technique. All of them lack a novel approach with independent analysis.

But still, we do get the evidences which show that the post-paninian grammarians have not followed the paninian principle blindly, so far as our present Kṛtya suffixes are concerned. It is proved by the critical study of the different levels of grammatical description reflected

in the different grammars.

While comparing the sūtra, it is observed that in most of the cases, the post-paninian grammarians have followed P. still in some cases they differ , so far as our present study, the kṛtya suffixes are concerned.

Speaking from the point of view of historical linguistic, the suffix anīya is described basically as a taddhita suffix (Cf. ch.I) The suffix anīyaR is used with instrumental case in P's grammar. But some of the latter grammarians like C, Bh, and V have extended its limitation. According to them, the suffix anīya can be construed with other cases viz. nominative, accusative, dative, ablative and locative cases. (cf. ch.II), So, so far as the syntactic relation is concerned, these grammarians have surpassed the limitation made by P.

The word vāstavya is derived from the tavyaT suffix by P. But some of the grammarians like D,Ś have described the form as a taddhita derivation. (cf.the ch.II).

So far as the technique of nipātana is concerned all of the post-paninian grammarians have followed P.

still then some of the nipātita forms are derived in regular formative procedure by Ś and J. Cf. the forms in the sūtraa from P.3.1.101 to P.3.1.105 and their the respective corresponding sūtras . (cf. ch.III) . This tendency also visible in a small scale in KV, cf. the forms pāyyam, dhāyyā, pranāyya , annāyya sañcāyya, kundapāyya .. From this, it is observed that, at least these three grammarians have tried to strike a new note altogether and left the paninian, way of description. They applied their own intellect and originality. So far as the form rājasūya is concerned, some of the post-paninian grammarians have applied different suffixes by the procedure of nipātana for its formation. P has applied the kyaP suffix for rājasūya, where as most of the grammarians like S, D, Ś, H and V have applied GHyaṆ i.e. (paninian ṆyaT). (cf. ch.III).

So far as the it sounds of the krtya suffixes are concerned, the post-paninian grammarians also differ into some extent. There is no it sound in the suffix tavya used by P and all other grammarians except J. J has used ṅ as the it sound and makesit tavyaṄ. P has used r as the it sound to the suffix anīyaR, but J has used ṅ as it sound and makesit anīyaṄ. According to Paninian procedure the it letter ṅ prohibits guṇa and

vṛddhi. Cf. the sūtra, kiṅti Ca P.1.1.5. But J has gone against P, so far as this point is concerned. According to him the it letter ṅ is used for the guṇa.cf. "ṅkāra guṇārthaḥ" (cf. ch.II). The suffix tavyaT is not found in any of the post-paninian grammar except SK. But in Jmv. the suffix tavyaṆ is found, which corresponds to tavyaT and used in kartari sense.

In the Type-token technique, it is observed that, most of the post-paninian grammarians have not followed P. For ṆyaT of P, some of the post-paninian grammarians have given GHyaṆ. In between these two suffixes type ya is same, but they differ by the different tokens. Only C and Bh. have followed P in the Type-Token technique.

The suffix KelimaR is not found in Aṣṭ. It is provided by the vārtikakāra Kātyāyana. But, we do find this suffix in all of the post-paninian grammarians. In this case, it may be observed that the suffix kelimaR might have been perhaps a post-paninian suffix, used abundantly in post-paninian period, but was not used on such a large scale in P's time, for which P has not mentioned it.

To summarise, we can put the following observations.

1) Nipātana is not a new technique but an extention of the the ādeśa technique. We can describe the nipātana as a śabdādeśa or varṇādeśa (cf. Ch.III.).

ii) The technique of zero is totally absent in the formations of the kṛtya suffixes. P and all other post-paninian grammarians have assumed a two-term structure, for the kṛtya suffixes, hence there is no possibility of employing the technique of zero,. All grammarians start with the minimum base viz. dhātu and go to generate the kṛtya formations. From minimum to maximum is the procedure and not vice-versa (cf. ch.IV.).

iii) Where the difference in forms depends upon the difference in meaning or conversely, where the difference in meaning brings about a change in the formal structure, they all have taken meaning in to consideration. When, however, there is no such condition existing, they leave meaning out of consideration. (Cf.ch.IV).

The differences, which we have mentioned in the above pages of this chapter are very few, in comparision to the similarities. It is to be pointed that the differences either phonological or morphological and in the nipātana procedure are not consistently followed and maintained in the post-paninian grammars i.e. śv and Jmv. It is also clear from the discussion of the foregoing chapters that mainly ś and J and also sometime S and D, who seek to strike a different line of thinking from P, have not succeeded in doing a great extent or

in an extent upto the satisfication. In the majority of the cases of the krtya formations, these grammarians have also followed and accepted blindly, the method and wording. This is also true in the case of the other post-paninian grammarians.

We may therefore, put it as follows -

1. The difference in description which the post-paninian grammarians reveal are very few in comparison to the similarities.

2. Although sometimes and in somecases, a different line of description is adopted, it is not maintained consistently and as a part of an innovation in technique.

3. So far as the technique of description is concerned, the post-paninian grammarians are not unanimous. They differ among themselves. It is not possible to group the post-paninian grammarians in to two categores, (i) these following P in each and every case, and (ii) those not following P under any circumstances.

4. Among the post-paninian grammarians, we also marked that D is followed by S and H on the one hand, and in most of the cases C is followed by Sh.

in the formations of the sūtras, wording and description.

5. Most of the post-paninian grammarians seem to have been written the grammars not for introducing any new principles or inmovation in the techniques of grammar, but only to satisfy the demands of the particular mass of the particular region in the respective time. As legend goes KV is written for the demand of the king Śātavāhana of Deccan.[394]

It is expected that as the post-paninian grammarians are the product of later period, they should have invented some more new technique by which their grammars would have surpassed P's technique, skill in every respect. But the fact is not so. They have cultivated the same data provided by their predecessor. Even in some cases, they left some techniques or features inl lieu of addition. We also do not get the corresponding sūtras of each and every rule in each grammar. (Cf. Ch.II).

Finally, it must, however, be emphasized that the foregoing conclusions - if they can at all be characterised as conclusions are arrived at on the basis of a partial study of only the kṛtya suffixes, a sub-section of

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394. Cf. Belvalkar S.K. Op.cit. P.69.

of kṛdanta section, which only consist of three suffixes. The conclusion based on a comparative study of all the grammars in their entirety may perhaps come out to be totally different from those drawn above. So it can not be claimed that the above conclusions are final.

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